PREPARING FOR CITIZENSHIP

WILLIAM·BACKUS·GUITTEAU

Burnham Nash

PREPARING FOR CITIZENSHIP

An Elementary Textbook in Civics

BY

WILLIAM BACKUS GUITTEAU, PH.D.

Author of Government and Politics in the United States
Director of Schools, Toledo, Ohio

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

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SUGGESTIONS TO TEACHERS

At the close of each chapter in the text, the teacher will find questions and topics for further study and investigation. The more simple investigations only should be undertaken in classes composed of the younger pupils. Care should be exercised, also, in selecting only questions of especial interest to the particular community; for example, rural schools will naturally omit many questions pertaining to urban conditions, and *vice versa*.

As a rule, it will be best to assign one question to each pupil, or to a group of pupils, to be reported on at a future date. The teacher should suggest sources of information for pupils to make use of in their investigations. Often the parents, or older brothers and sisters, can give the necessary help; or, again, it may be advisable to consult local officials for information concerning their work.

Members of the class should be encouraged to visit township, county, and municipal offices; and local officials should be invited to come before the class and describe the business of their departments. Added interest may be secured by organizing the class into a town meeting, or as a city council, State legislature, or branch of Congress. A bulletin board in the classroom for newspaper clippings pertaining to governmental affairs will prove interesting and helpful.

In order to make the study of government concrete and vital, the largest possible use should be made of such material as town warrants, legislative bills, sample ballots, presidential messages, and the like. A detailed list of material for this purpose is given in the appendix.

In the appendix will also be found suggested readings, most of which are intended for older pupils, and for teachers who desire further information on topics discussed in the text. For each chapter, however, several elementary readings are cited, which may be undertaken by pupils in the grammar grades. Each room should be equipped with at least a few standard books on government, and pupils should be taught to consult these as reference works.

At all times the teacher should bear in mind that government is to be studied as a living organism, stress being placed upon the spirit and functions of government rather than upon its form. Throughout this book, special attention has been given to the activities of government, and to the reciprocal obligations of government and the citizen. Emphasis, too, has been placed upon the ethical side of civics, upon what is sometimes called political morality. For it is now generally conceded that the chief value in the subject of civics lies not in the mere teaching of facts about government, but rather in creating in the minds of the pupils high ideals of citizenship and of political conduct.

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PREPARING FOR CITIZENSHIP

CHAPTER I

HOW AND WHY GOVERNMENTS ARE FORMED

1. Organization of the School City. Ten or twelve years ago the pupils of a certain school, wishing to learn in a practical way something of the actual workings of *government*, decided to organize a "school city." Accordingly they selected several of their number as *delegates* to meet in *convention*, and draw up a plan for carrying on the work which the school city was to perform. Every boy knows that you cannot carry on a baseball game without certain rules for the players; and so the members of this school city, about to engage in a more serious game, agreed to abide by certain rules which they called the *constitution* of their city. In other words, their constitution established the rules of the game.

The constitution of the school city

2. The Government of the School City. These rules provided that each room of the building should be organized as a ward, and that the pupils of each ward should elect one of their number to represent them in the council, or *legislative body*, of the school city. This council was given power to make rules or orders in matters which concerned the general welfare of the school. Then all

Legislative body

the pupils of the building assembled in their auditorium, and chose certain *executive* officers, whose duty it was to carry out the orders of the council, and to conduct the business of the school city. The principal executive officer, or mayor, was a pupil in the highest class, chosen on account of his popularity and his excellent record. "Always truthful, always considerate of others, always earnest in his work, manly, and courageous," — these were the qualities pointed to by the boy who nominated the successful candidate as rendering him worthy of the highest office in the school city.

Executive officers

After electing their mayor, this assemblage of young citizens proceeded to select other officials, one of the most important of whom was a sanitary officer. It was the duty of the sanitary chief, aided by his assistants, to look after the cleanliness of both building and pupils. If a boy came to his room with muddy shoes or dirty hands, the sanitary officers sent him down to the basement for improvement; if pupils threw scraps of paper on the floor, instead of into the waste-basket, or had untidy coat-rooms, that ward was in disgrace with the sanitary chief, who reported the situation to the council. Cleanliness, as next to godliness, was insisted upon throughout the school city. This meant moral cleanliness, as well as physical; and so impure words, impure thoughts, and falsehood in any form, were alike forbidden.

Cleanliness in all things

Each day several of the city's officers were detailed to inspect the ranks as the pupils marched out of the building; and the class which marched in the

most soldierly fashion during the month was permitted to carry the school banner for the following month. The citizens of this city realized that pupils ought not to be tardy at school, and ought never to be absent unless ill; and, accordingly, the council voted that special mention should be made each month of that ward or class which had the best record for attendance and punctuality.

Rewards for excellence

3. The City's Watchword — Self-Control. And then, most important of all, the council decided that the watchword of the school city should be "self-control"; that throughout their entire school course pupils should keep this word before them as their ideal, being well-behaved and orderly, not because their teacher insisted upon it, but because without good order and upright conduct they could not master their lessons or be worthy citizens of their school city. If any pupil forgot this principle, his carelessness was promptly frowned upon by his fellow citizens, for they realized that the selfishness of an individual must not be allowed to interfere with the welfare of the community.

Meaning of the watchword

In this way the ideal of self-control and mutual helpfulness spread among the pupils of this school; they found that the hard lessons were mastered more readily when each citizen was doing his full duty, no one shirking or idling. Their teachers were enabled to do better work than ever before, for pupils and teachers alike were now inspired by one spirit and purpose — unselfish devotion to the school city. And so the life of this school became more pleasant and effective in a thousand ways; the

What self-control did for the pupils

fame of the new school city spread over all the State, and finally throughout the entire United States. Hundreds of other schools, inspired by this example, organized similar school cities, and taught their citizens the great lessons of self-help and self-control.

4. Importance of Self-Control in all Communities. Now this principle of self-control is just as important in the larger world outside, as in the little school world in which you now live. If the grown-up citizens of a community should simply follow their own inclinations without any regard for the public welfare, no man's life or property would be safe, and progress of any kind would be impossible. What inducement could there be for a man to labor, if any individual stronger than himself might rob him of what he produced? Have you ever considered what anarchy would prevail, if there were no public agency to punish wrongdoers, and if each individual had to seek out and punish the man who stole his property or otherwise injured him? Thus the protection of life and property is the first great need which must be met before progress of any kind is possible; and it was to meet this supreme need that governments were first organized.

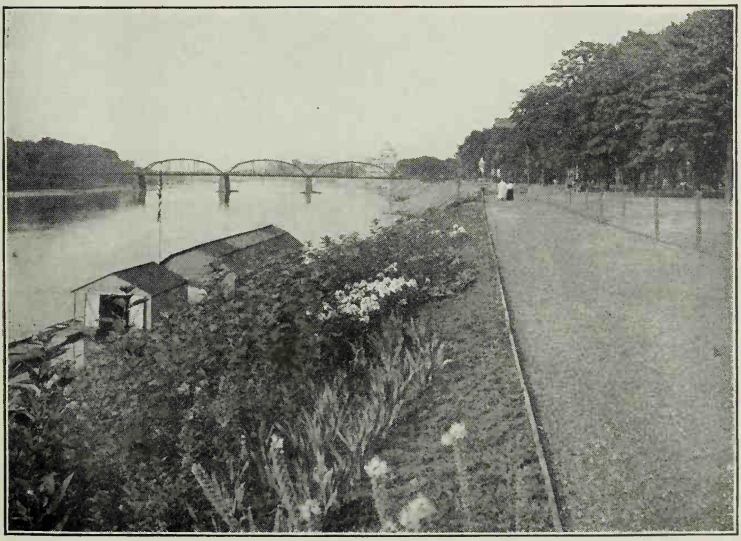
Why government is necessary

In very early times, men were almost constantly at war, and naturally the best fighter was chosen as the chieftain or leader of his tribe. War demands implicit obedience on the part of soldiers to the commands of their leader. Having accustomed men to obey him in war, the chieftain's authority becomes established in time of peace as well, and this is the beginning of government.

Origin of government

A RIVER BANK IN WILKESBARRE, PA.

Neglected and used as a dump for rubbish.



ANOTHER VIEW OF THE SAME BANK AFTER IMPROVEMENT

A promenade, flower-beds, and boat-houses make it an attractive spot.

Courtesy, The American City.

BANK OF ST. MARY'S RIVER, FORT WAYNE, IND., BEFORE IMPROVEMENT

A rubbish dump, guarded by billboards.

Courtesy, The American City.

THE SAME SPOT ONE YEAR LATER

Gradually these early tribes became more civilized. They gave up their wandering mode of life as hunters and fishermen, settled upon a definite territory, and commenced to cultivate the soil. After much warfare and bloodshed, some strong chieftain would extend his authority over neighboring tribes, and become the acknowledged ruler of a large territory. In this way such countries as France and Great Britain had their origin.

How governments develop

5. Who is to run the Government? Thus we perceive that early government was something imposed from above. The strongest warrior became the ruler, and this authority became hereditary in his family, so that on the death of the ruler or king, his power descended to his eldest son. We see, too, that the real governing authority was held by this single individual, the people as a whole having very little to say about the matter. As late as the seventeenth century, the French king, Louis XIV, is reported to have said: "The State? I am the State!" In other words, Louis XIV considered himself the government, and would not admit that the business of government concerned the people at all. In Great Britain the Stuart kings even claimed that they ruled by divine right — that God himself had ordained them rulers of the people.

Control by a single individual

Now in early times it was necessary that order and law should be established in the person of a single individual, for even tyrannical government is better than no government at all. But after society had become accustomed to order and obedience, men were unwilling to submit to the ab-

Control by the people

solute control of a single individual, and wished to have a voice in their government. Later you will learn that a great part of the world's history is made up of this struggle on the part of the people to secure in their own hands the control of government; while throughout the ages, kings and princes have striven to retain for themselves the ruling power. At the present time, even in most European monarchies, the actual power of government has been transferred from the king to the people themselves. Hence such countries as Great Britain, Spain, and Italy are called constitutional or limited monarchies, because the power of the rulers is limited by a constitution in which the will of the people is expressed.

6. Early Government in America. In our own country, the control of government from the earliest times has been in the hands of the people. The sturdy pioneers who came to the new world in the seventeenth century were seeking a land where they might have greater freedom — freedom to worship according to their own conscience, freedom to manage the business of government as best suited their own needs. The colonists who came to the New England coast settled in small, compact communities known as *towns*, each having its own church, and its blockhouse for defense against the Indians. The residents of each town met together in *town-meeting* to pass rules for their government and to elect local officers. Since the residents of each town decided all important matters by their votes in town-meeting, the government was a pure *democracy;* that is, it was a government carried on by the people themselves. This

New England towns

type of government is adapted only to small, compactly settled communities, in which the voters can readily assemble to decide matters of common concern.

At the South, the early colonists did not settle in small communities as in New England, but scattered over a wide area. As the houses of the planters were miles apart, it was impossible for them to manage their local affairs in town-meeting, as did the New England settlers. So these Southern colonists established *county government* for the management of their local affairs. The powers of government were not exercised directly by the voters, but were entrusted to eight men, who composed the *county court*. The counties were much larger than the New England towns, but performed similar work. They looked after local matters, such as education, the construction of roads, the care of the poor, and the levy and collection of taxes.

County government at the South

Both the towns of New England and the counties at the South were under the control of colonial governments. Each of these thirteen colonial governments had its legislature and its governor, in charge of matters of especial interest to that colony.

Colonial governments

All the thirteen colonies were subject to the authority of Great Britain. So the American colonist lived under three governments: first, his local government, that of his town or county; second, his colonial government; and third, the government of Great Britain.

Three sets of governments

7. The Declaration of Independence. Although Great Britain claimed supreme authority over her

American colonies, and the British Parliament declared its right to legislate for them on all subjects, as a matter of fact the colonists managed their affairs largely as they saw fit. Great Britain was too far away and too busy with affairs in Europe to exercise much real control; so that when she finally attempted to assert her authority on the subject of taxation, the colonists rebelled, and the Revolution followed. By the Declaration of Independence, the adoption of which we celebrate every Fourth of July, the colonies became free and independent States (July 4, 1776).

Revolt of the colonies

Shortly afterwards the colonies, now independent States, united under a form of union known as the Articles of Confederation (March 1, 1781). This union proved weak and unsatisfactory; and so a few years later a new constitution was adopted, which established our government in its present form.

Articles of Confederation

8. Our Three Sets of Governments. So the people of the United States to-day, like the early colonists, live under three governments. First, a national government, which carries on affairs which concern the nation as a whole — foreign relations, the mail, control of territories, public lands, money, and commerce. Second, the State governments, which control such matters as education, contracts, the holding and transfer of property, regulation of business, and the punishment of crime. Third, the local governments (counties, townships, villages, and cities), which are under the direct control of the State governments. These local governments have

National, State, and local governments

charge of affairs which directly concern the people of each local community, as the building of roads and bridges, the care of the poor, maintenance of schools, provision for water-supply, street paving and lighting.

9. The National Government. You have learned in your study of history that the constitution of the United States was framed in 1787 by a convention which included many of America's greatest leaders, and was afterwards ratified by conventions held in each of the thirteen States. Accordingly this constitution is the foundation on which our national government rests; and, with the nineteen amendments which have since been added, forms the supreme law of the land.

National constitution

Our constitution provides for a national government consisting of three departments, legislative, executive, and judicial. Legislative powers are exercised by Congress, which consists of two houses. The smaller house, or Senate, is composed of ninety-six members, two being chosen by the voters of each State. In the larger body, the House of Representatives, each State is represented in proportion to its population. Executive authority is vested in a President, who is chosen by indirect election for a term of four years. The President appoints an advisory body of ten members, known as the cabinet. The judicial department consists of the Supreme Court of nine members, which sits at Washington, together with lower courts which try cases arising in different parts of the Union.

Three departments of government

10. The State Governments. In many respects the State governments (now forty-eight in number) re-

semble the national government. Each State has its own constitution, which establishes the three departments of government, — legislative, executive, and judicial.

Three departments

The legislature, or law-making body, consists of two houses, and meets at the State capital. Its members are elected by the voters from districts into which the State is divided.

Legislature

The chief executive officer of the State is the governor, whose position is similar to that of the President. The governor is assisted in his work of executing the laws by numerous officials, some of whom he appoints, while many others are elected by the voters.

Governor

State courts of several grades are provided for the trial of cases arising under State laws; so that if a man steals the property of another, or if one refuses to carry out an agreement or contract which he has made, justice may be obtained by the injured party through the aid of the courts.

State courts

11. **Local Governments.** Nearer to the citizen than the government of his State, or the still more remote government at Washington, is the local government which supplies so many of our public needs. When you pass along a macadamized road or a paved street on your way to school, you are using a public convenience provided by your local government. If you ask yourselves the questions, Who protects this community from fire and theft? Who builds its roads and bridges? Who constructs and maintains its public schools and libraries? Who provides its parks, boulevards, and water-supply? — the answer in every case

is, that these public necessities are supplied by your local government. If you live in a city or village, the local government of greatest importance to you is the city or village government. In rural communities, especially in New England and the central States, much of the work of local government is performed by the town or township. All of us, whether residing in cities, villages, or in the country, live under county governments, which carry on such important functions as the recording of deeds and mortgages, the local administration of justice, and the collection of taxes.

Since local governments supply the needs which concern us so greatly in our everyday life, it is of vital importance that the local officials whom we elect shall be honest and capable. Otherwise we may have poor schools, neglected streets, an inadequate or impure water-supply; or worse still, dishonest officials may accept bribes and sacrifice the interests of the community in a thousand ways. The cost of this dishonesty and inefficiency is always paid by the taxpayers. Through the carelessness of the voters of New York City, a group of dishonest men, known as "The Tweed Ring," gained complete control of the city government during the years 1865 to 1871. As a result of their corrupt management, the debt of the city was increased by $81,000,000, for which the city received little return. The county building remains as a permanent monument of their extravagance and dishonesty, still incomplete after having cost the taxpayers over thirteen million dollars.

Importance of local government

QUESTIONS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Make a list of ten services that government can perform better than individuals. Explain why.
2. Explain your responsibility to help in five of these.
3. Why do we have rules for games, clubs, or societies?
4. Who makes these? Who enforces them? To whom is a referee or umpire responsible?
5. Why do people organize societies, clubs, or associations? To whom are the officers of these responsible?
6. Prepare an outline of a constitution and by-laws of a "School City" or of some organization that you know about.
7. Explain why government is necessary. Why is the study of government important to every citizen?
8. What are some of the responsibilities of government to the individual? Of the individual to the government?
9. What are the three departments of government? What does each do?
10. What work in general is performed by the national government? By the State and local governments? Make a list of specific services performed by each of these.
11. Make a list of ten of your own activities or your family's that are controlled or helped by government. What is your own responsibility in return for each of these?
12. Estimate the cost of carrying a letter from your home city to Alaska, if you had to deliver it yourself.
13. Find out the bonded indebtedness of your city, or school district. Who authorized the spending of this money? What was it for? Who enjoys the privileges that this money paid for?
14. Vice-President Coolidge said, "Men do not make laws. They do but discover them." What did he mean?
15. What is your idea of the difference between our democracy and a monarchy like Spain or Italy?

CHAPTER II

WHAT GOVERNMENT DOES FOR THE CITIZEN, AND WHAT THE CITIZEN OWES TO HIS GOVERNMENT

12. **Citizenship.** Most boys find themselves obliged to give up the fond dream of some day becoming President, for they soon discover what a lot of men there are in the world, and how few Presidents we need. But there is one dignity to which every boy and girl is born, and which remains a life-long possession — that of being a citizen of this great Republic. The Roman orator, Cicero, once declared that the proudest boast which any man could make was that of being a Roman citizen. And so, in our own time, the greatest thing that any man can say is, that he is a citizen of the United States. Let us see who are entitled to claim this privilege of citizenship; and next, what our government is doing for the citizen, and what the citizen, in turn, owes to his government.

What the word implies

Who are citizens? This question is answered by our national constitution, which declares that every person born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to its laws, is a citizen.[1] So every child born in the United States thereby becomes a citizen. Girls and women are of course citizens, as well as boys and men; and are equally entitled to the protection of government. For many

Who are citizens

[1] Constitution, Amendment XIV.

years, certain privileges of citizenship, as the right to vote, to hold office, and to serve on juries, were reserved to men alone. Since the adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment, women share all the privileges of citizenship on equal terms with men.

How foreigners become citizens

Hundreds of thousands of immigrants land upon our shores each year; and many of these foreigners or aliens afterwards become citizens through the process of *naturalization*. In order to become a citizen, the foreigner (1) must have lived in the United States for a period of five years; and (2) he must declare in court that he gives up his citizenship in the country from which he comes, and that he will support the constitution and laws of the United States. The court thereupon issues a certificate of naturalization, whereby the foreigner becomes an American citizen. He is then entitled to the protection of this government, and owes it his allegiance and support.

13. Government's Protection of the Public. Let us now consider what public services government performs for the citizen. So numerous are these services that it is only possible to mention the most important ones. We have seen that the first essential function of government is the maintenance of order, and the protection of life and property. A man's life must be safe, and what he earns by his labor must be his to enjoy; this protection is, therefore, the primary function of government. When you see the policeman on the corner, you know that he represents a part of the protection which government extends to every citizen. You know that he will

Need of protection

use every effort to prevent crime and to arrest wrongdoers; in short, to protect the rights of yourself and other law-abiding persons.

So with the courts, which represent another agency provided by society for the protection of the public. Here those who have violated the laws of the State are tried, and punishments imposed. Before these tribunals a man who has been injured or cheated by another may seek redress. I have the right freely to use and enjoy my own property, but it is also my duty to respect the property rights of my neighbor. If I go upon his premises without permission, pick flowers from his yard, injure or deface his buildings, he may have me arrested, and that arm of government called the courts will punish me for the offense.

Function of the courts

But, you may ask, suppose a large number of persons are guilty of lawless conduct? Suppose a riot breaks out in which hundreds of men take part, so that the police are powerless? Back of the local police force is the State militia, which can be called out by the governor to aid in enforcing the law; and back of the State militia is the entire army and navy of the United States, all of which, if necessary, will be used to maintain peace and order in every part of the Union. So we see that government has a strong arm when it comes to protecting the peace of the community, and the rights of the citizen. Moreover, this protection follows the citizen wherever he goes, even in foreign lands. If one of our citizens traveling abroad is mistreated, our government will take up the matter, and insist that he be given justice.

Other protective agencies

14. **The Maintenance of Education.** Have you ever considered what an immense service government performs in providing free public education for every boy and girl in the land? You belong to a vast army of twenty-one million pupils, for whose education government expends each year nearly $900,000,000. In addition to more than 300,000 schoolhouses, government maintains numerous public libraries as an aid to its educational work.

15. **Public Health and Charities.** When an epidemic of typhoid fever breaks out, one of the first questions asked is, "What about the community's water-supply? Is it pure and free from contamination?" This suggests another service which government performs, for in three fourths of our cities, the water-works system is owned by the public. Sometimes epidemics are caused by impure milk or other food; so government employs inspectors of milk, meat, and other foods, in order to safeguard the health of the citizens. For the same reason, government builds sewers, and provides public parks and playgrounds, thus creating sanitary and healthful conditions for the entire community.

Water-supply

The paving of streets is another work carried on by government; while street lighting is provided either by government, or by some company to which government has granted the privilege or franchise.

Street paving and lighting

Government also carries on the important work of public charities. Hospitals, asylums for the insane, the deaf, and the blind, are maintained at public expense. In its almshouses and poor-

Public charities

Courtesy, Tenement-House Department, N. Y.

A CONGESTED TENEMENT-HOUSE SECTION IN NEW YORK

A VIEW IN CENTRAL PARK, NEW YORK

Cities having congested sections should provide breathing spaces for the people

Courtesy, Playground Association of America.

ONE OF THE MANY PLAYGROUNDS IN CHICAGO

A wading pool, and a house for indoor recreations are unusual features

Courtesy, Metropolitan Water and Sewage Board.

ONE OF THE RESERVOIRS IN BOSTON'S SYSTEM OF WATER SUPPLY

Several acres of neighboring land serve all the purposes of a public park.

farms, government takes care of those unfortunates who are unable to support themselves.

All of these services are performed either by local or State governments. Thus we see how important is the work of these governments, and how necessary it is that honest and efficient officials be chosen to direct this work.

16. Work of the National Government. When you send a letter through the mails, you are making use of one of the most important services of the national government. When you pay for something at the store, you make use of money, the circulating medium provided by the national government, without which it would be impossible to carry on the business of the country. Business is also greatly aided by means of our national banking system; and the post-office department maintains a system of postal savings banks, intended primarily for depositors of limited means.

The mail, money, and banks

When you travel on a ship, your journey is rendered more safe by means of the lighthouses which our federal government maintains to guide your ship safely to harbor. If you live upon a navigable river, you have probably seen dredges at work broadening and deepening the channel. This improvement of rivers and harbors is one of the most important services whereby the federal government aids commerce. The Panama Canal, first opened to commerce in 1914, is the greatest work of this kind ever undertaken by any government.

Aids to commerce

When the telephone was invented, the inventors applied to the national government for a patent, in

order to secure for themselves the exclusive right to make and sell their invention. So, too, when a man writes a book, he applies to the national government for a copyright, giving him the sole right to publish and sell it. Thus government aids inventors and authors by securing to them the fruits of their labor.

Encouragement of science and literature

In your study of geography, you learned that in the West and Southwest there are thousands of acres of land which cannot be cultivated because of the scant water-supply. By building immense dams and reservoirs, the national government has provided irrigation systems which are transforming these desert regions into fertile farms.

Irrigation

Perhaps you have read of the forest rangers, men employed by the government to guard against forest fires and timber thieves. This protection of our forests is a part of the all-important work which government performs in the conservation of our natural resources.

Forest protection

17. **The Duty of paying Taxes.** Such are the more important of the almost numberless services which government performs for the citizen. Let us now consider what the citizen, in turn, owes to his government; for the right to claim all these services surely must imply corresponding duties. First, it is the duty of all those who live under any government to aid in providing the finances by which government carries on its work; in other words, to pay taxes. The services which government performs cost immense sums of money; and this money must come from the pockets of the citizens. It is the duty of every

Taxes necessary to support government

person to contribute this financial support according to his means. The man who seeks to evade his fair share of taxes is trying to cheat the entire community. If a number of you should club together to buy a basket-ball, and a boy who could afford to pay should refuse to contribute his share, you would say at once that he ought not to use the ball. In the same situation is the man who evades his just share of the expenses of government. He deserves neither the protection of government, nor the use of the many public conveniences which government provides.

18. **The Duty of Military Support.** Not only by giving a portion of his property does the citizen support his government; if necessary, he must take up arms in its defense. During the Civil War, more than one million men left their homes to fight for the Union. Most of these were volunteers; but before the war ended, the government was obliged to draft many men who did not volunteer to serve. When the United States entered the World War in 1917, a conscription law was at once passed. So we realize that in time of peril, government may claim the services of every able-bodied man. Every citizen, then, must be prepared to offer even his life in the support of his government. It is not from men alone that government receives military support. In the Civil War, and in the recent World War, the women of the United States gave to the world a noble example of service and of sacrifice. So women, as well as men, support their government in time of war.

Military service may be compulsory

19. **The Duty of Voting.** It may be that none of you will be called upon to take up arms in support

of your government; for to-day men realize more than ever before the horror and the wickedness of war. But there is another all-important duty which every voter should perform. He should cast his vote at elections for candidates who will render honest and efficient public service. Your ballot is just as vital to government's support in time of peace as your bayonet in time of war. Remember that when public money is wasted, it is your money that is wasted. If public officials are incompetent, you help pay the bills. You should not be influenced by the example of the lazy or indifferent persons who stay away from the polls on election day. You may hear these individuals say that "it's all no use, the politicians will run things anyway." Older men sometimes grow weary and pessimistic; it is for you, the youth of the land, whose hearts are inspired with the golden ideals and hopes of youth, to enter on the path of progress, and fight the hard fight for good government. Only in this way can our popular government succeed; and this duty to vote and work for the election of good public officials is the greatest service which you can render your country.

Importance of the ballot

20. **The Duty of Jury Service.** Another duty which the citizen may be called upon to perform is that of jury service. This is not a pleasant duty, for one may be kept away from his business for several days, or even weeks, if the trial is a long one. But jury trial is an important safeguard of free government; and every citizen should be willing to serve if called, even at a personal sacrifice.

21. **The Duty of Officeholding.** Finally, citizens may

owe it to the community to accept public office, even when they prefer not to serve. Individuals of high talent and ability are often unwilling to give up the time necessary for public office; but it is just this class of citizens that the public service needs. There are always numerous persons who desire public office for what they can get out of it; but it is not alone from those who seek office that officials should be chosen. Gradually we are coming to realize that the office should seek the man, not the man the office. Hence if a considerable number of voters desire a certain man or woman to accept office, the nomination should not be declined. Every citizen owes the community a certain amount of public service, even at a personal sacrifice.

QUESTIONS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Who are citizens of the United States?
2. Why should foreigners who come to the United States be permitted to become citizens?
3. Tell how government protects the people.
4. Describe the process of naturalization.
5. Enumerate some of the rights and duties of citizenship.
6. How does government protect the public health?
7. Who looks after street paving in your community? Street lighting?
8. What is irrigation, and why is it important?
9. How are the forests protected? Why is this protection necessary?

CHAPTER III

THE SELECTION OF PUBLIC OFFICIALS

22. Election-Day Scenes. Probably every boy and girl in your class is familiar with some of the scenes on election day. Perhaps you recall the small red flags placed near each voting booth, marking off the space within which it is forbidden to solicit votes. You may have seen a line of voters at some booth, each person awaiting his turn to enter and cast his ballot. You know that in the evening these ballots are counted; and crowds of men, women, and children assemble in front of the newspaper offices, eagerly watching the election returns flashed on the screen. Probably most of the boys have helped contribute to the noisy enthusiasm over the outcome. Sometimes, if the election is a close one, the result is not known until the next morning. Then newsboys are on the streets at an early hour, calling "Extra! Extra! All about the election!"

It is natural that there should be a good deal of excitement on election day; for at this time the voters choose the men who make and enforce our laws. Ours is called a *representative* government, because its officers are chosen by the people to represent them in the management of public affairs. Good government is impossible unless good representatives are chosen; hence election day is the most important of all days in our national life. It is

Representative government

really the nation's birthday; the day when the voters make or mar their government.

23. The Right to Vote. Who may vote at elections? Subject to important restrictions embodied in the fifteenth and nineteenth amendments to the federal constitution, each State determines for itself who may exercise this privilege. As a rule, all citizens, twenty-one years of age or over, may vote. A certain period of residence within the State — from six months to two years — is always required. So the three common requirements for voting are: (1) citizenship in the United States;[1] (2) twenty-one years of age; (3) residence within the State.

Suffrage

Wyoming was the first State to grant the ballot to women, and this example was afterwards followed by many other States. Finally, Congress passed a resolution amending the national constitution, so as to give all women in the United States the right to vote on equal terms with men. This nineteenth amendment was ratified by three fourths of the States in 1920.

Woman suffrage

In nearly all the States, persons convicted of a serious crime, paupers, and the insane, are forbidden the right to vote. You will readily understand why these persons should be debarred. Thirteen commonwealths[2] withhold the right to vote from those who are illiterate; that is, who are unable to read or write. These States have adopted an educational qualification in order to protect themselves

Classes excluded

[1] In a few States aliens are permitted to vote, provided they have declared their intention of becoming citizens.

[2] Alabama, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Mississippi, New Hampshire, North Carolina, South Carolina, Washington, and Wyoming.

against ignorant voters, who could not be expected to cast an intelligent ballot.

24. Time of holding Elections. In most commonwealths, the State and county officers are elected on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November. These elections are generally held in the even-numbered years, so that they are *biennial* elections (held in every second year).

State and county elections

Township, village, and city officers are also commonly elected once in two years. These elections are generally held in the odd-numbered years, or else in the spring, so as to separate them from other elections. The object of this separation is to have local issues considered upon their merits, apart from other questions.

Local elections

The election of a President occurs once in four years, and is held on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November. Thus a presidential election was held on November 2, 1920, and will occur every four years thereafter. Members of the House of Representatives are chosen in November of the even-numbered years.

National elections

25. The Steps in Popular Election. When voters cast their ballots at the polls they vote for candidates who have been *nominated* for office. Nominations are made several weeks or months before the election, usually through the agency of political parties. In the interval between the nominations and the election, each party carries on a *campaign* in order to win votes. In order to determine beforehand who is entitled to vote, voters are required *to register* their names several weeks before the election. Then comes

the *casting of the ballots* on election day; and finally, the *counting* of the votes, and announcement of the *returns*. Of these steps in a popular election, the ones which you should remember are: (1) the nomination of candidates; (2) the registration of voters; (3) casting and counting the ballots.

26. Registration of Voters. For convenience in carrying on elections, the counties and townships of each State are subdivided into small election districts or precincts, each containing a few hundred voters. Each of these precincts has an election booth, where voters are commonly required to register their names before election. A voter registers by giving his name, age, place of residence, length of residence in the State and in the election district, and other information establishing his right to vote. Frequent registration is seldom required in villages and towns, where voters are well known to each other; but in the cities, annual registration is generally necessary in order to prevent dishonest men from voting in more than one precinct.

Object of registration

27. Casting and counting the Ballots. On election day the voter goes to the election booth in his precinct, which is usually kept open from six o'clock in the morning until six in the evening. He gives his name and address to the election clerk, who records both, and ascertains whether the voter has duly registered. The voter then receives an official ballot from the election officials, and takes it into one of the several little booths or stalls arranged so as to insure complete privacy. All the States except five have adopted a form of ballot similar to that

Process of voting

used in Australia, hence known as the Australian ballot. On this ballot the names of candidates of each party are printed, generally in parallel columns underneath the party name and emblem.[1] In some States, the voter may cast a "straight ticket" by placing a cross-mark in the circle at the head of the party column; in others, he must place a cross-mark opposite the name of each candidate for whom he wishes to vote. He then folds his ballot with the names hidden, and hands it to an election officer, who deposits it in the ballot box. The clerk thereupon makes an entry in his books, showing that the person has voted.

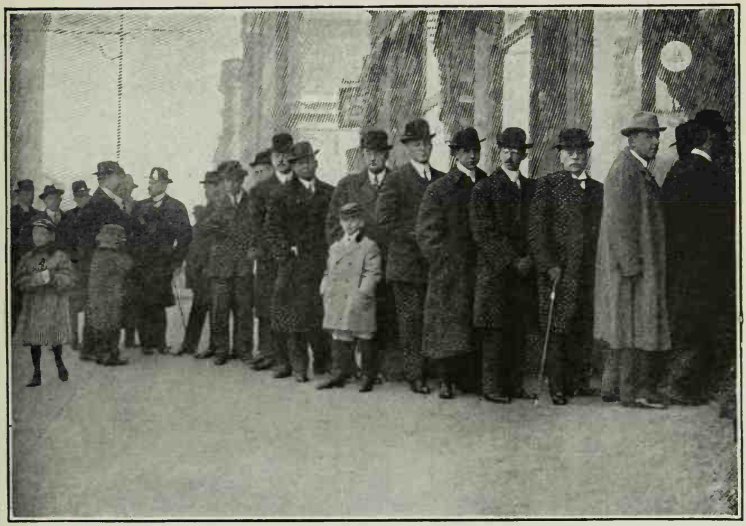
As soon as the polls close, the ballots are counted, and the results certified to the proper county or city officer. This official examines the returns for the entire county or city, and issues certificates of election to the successful candidates. When State officers, presidential electors, or congressmen are voted for, the county authorities certify the result in their respective counties to a State officer, who examines the returns, and issues the election certificates.

Examination of returns

28. Election Safeguards. Under our system of popular government, a secret ballot and an honest count of the vote are all-important. Before the adoption of the Australian ballot it was possible for corrupt party managers to purchase votes. They placed the party ticket in the hands of men who would sell their votes, and since party workers had

Australian ballot

[1] Another form known as the "Massachusetts" ballot is used in eleven States. This omits the party emblem entirely, the names of the candidates being arranged in alphabetical order under the title of each office, followed by the name of the party; and the voter must have sufficient intelligence to read the ballot and select the candidates for whom he wishes to vote.

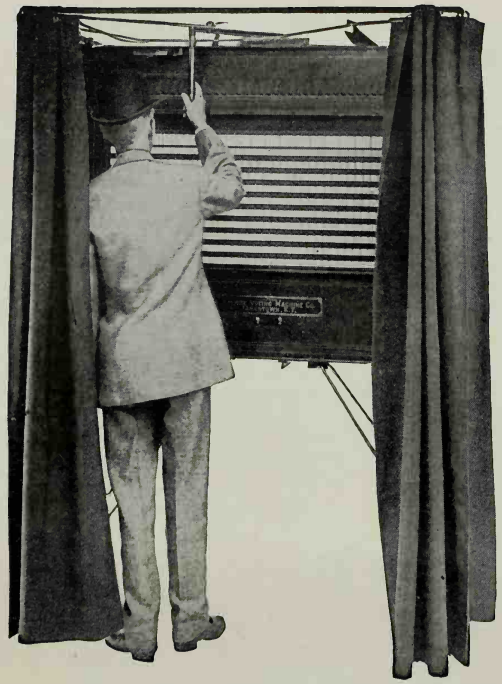


VOTERS WAITING AT THE POLLS

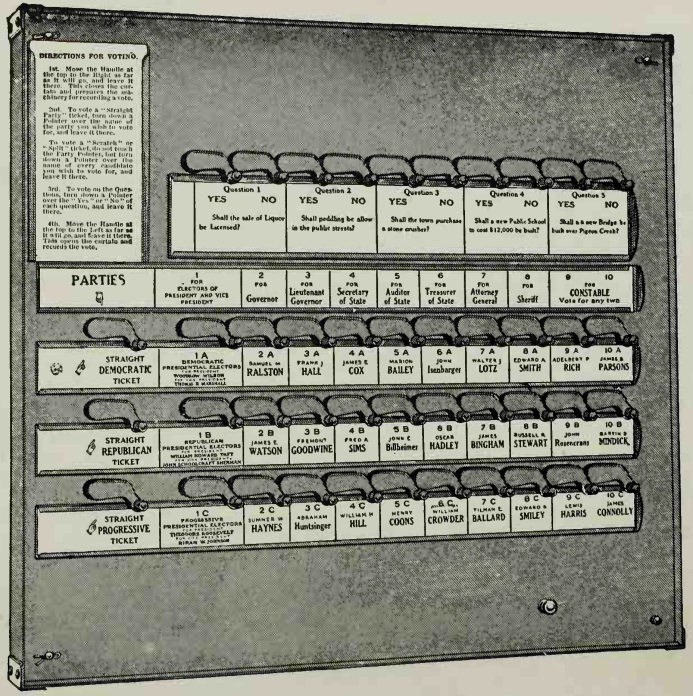
In many cities and towns, conveniently located shops and offices are chosen as voting places. Others have specially constructed "election-booths," and still others hold elections in school houses, town-halls, etc.

CASTING THE BALLOT

The election officers are about to check off the voter's name. His ballot may then be placed in the ballot-box.



The voter about to close the curtain. When not being voted on, the machine stands open. So long as the curtain remains open, the machine cannot be operated.


DIRECTIONS FOR VOTING.
1st. Move the Handle at the top to the Right as far as it will go, and leave it there. This closes the curtain and locks the machine against delivery for recording a vote.
2nd. To vote a "Straight Party" ticket, turn down a Pointer over the name of the party you wish to vote for, and leave it there.
To vote a "Scratch" or "Split" ticket, turn down the Party Pointer, (or Pointers) down a Pointer over the name of every candidate you wish to vote for, and leave it there.
3rd. To vote on the Questions, turn down a Pointer over the "Yes" or "No" of each question, and leave it there.
4th. Move the Handle at the top to the Left as far as it will go, and leave it there. This opens the curtain and records the vote.
Question 1 YES NO Shall the sale of Liquor be Licensed?
Question 2 YES NO Shall peddling be allow in the public streets?
Question 3 YES NO Shall the town purchase a stone crusher?
Question 4 YES NO Shall a new Public School to cost $12,000 be built?
Question 5 YES NO Shall a new Bridge be built over Pigeon Creek?
PARTIES
1 FOR ELECTORS OF PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT
2 FOR Governor
3 FOR Lieutenant Governor
4 FOR Secretary of State
5 FOR Auditor of State
6 FOR Treasurer of State
7 FOR Attorney General
8 FOR Sheriff
9 10 FOR CONSTABLE Vote for any two
STRAIGHT DEMOCRATIC TICKET
1A DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS
2A Samuel M. RALSTON
3A Frank J. HALL
4A James E. COX
5A Marion BAILEY
6A John Isenbarger
7A Walter J. LOTZ
8A Edward A. SMITH
9A Adelbert P. RICH
10A James B. PARSONS
STRAIGHT REPUBLICAN TICKET
1B REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS
2B James E. WATSON
3B Fremont GOODWINE
4B Fred A. SIMS
5B John C. Billheimer
6B Oscar HADLEY
7B James BINGHAM
8B Russell A. STEWART
9B John Rosecrans
10B Martin B. MENDICK
STRAIGHT PROGRESSIVE TICKET
1C PROGRESSIVE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS
2C Simeon D. HAYNES
3C Abraham Huntsinger
4C William H. HILL
5C Henry COONS
6C William CROWDER
7C Tilman E. BALLARD
8C Edward S. SMILEY
9C Lewis HARRIS
10C James CONNOLLY

Courtesy, Empire Voting Machine Company

A VOTING MACHINE

The face of a voting machine, as it appears to the voter before he begins to vote. Votes are recorded by pulling down the levers

free access to the voting booth, they could see these purchased votes deposited in the ballot box. But at the present time, a voter can use only the official ballot given him by the election officials after he enters the booth. Since this ballot contains the names of all candidates, and is marked in secret, it is impossible to be sure that the corrupt voter "stays bought," even if he accepts money for his vote. There can be no greater crime against our government than the attempt to influence elections corruptly; and many States have passed "corrupt practices acts," providing severe penalties for this offense. These acts also require each candidate for office to file an itemized sworn statement of his expenses in the election.

Other important precautions are taken to secure a free and honest expression of the will of the voters. Each party is permitted to have watchers at the election booth to witness the casting and counting of the votes, and to challenge any person whom they believe not qualified to vote. Electioneering is forbidden within a certain distance of the polls; and careful precautions are taken to secure an honest count of the ballots. Every possible legal safeguard has been devised to protect the ballot; but the strongest bulwark against dishonest voting is public sentiment. Every citizen should insist upon fair and honest elections in his community. He should regard as a traitor to his country the man who, by fraud or intimidation, seeks to defeat the will of the people.

Fair and impartial elections

29. The Voter's Responsibility. But the voter's duty does not end here. In order to cast an intelligent

vote, he should inform himself concerning the character of the candidates, and have a clear idea of the principles for which they stand. Too often voters cast a straight party ticket, without much consideration either of candidates or principles. One should always vote for the best candidates, regardless of whether they belong to his own political party. It is of little consequence whether candidates call themselves Democrats or Republicans; but it makes all the difference in the world whether our public officials are honest and capable. Party emblems mean little to the intelligent voter; character and principles mean everything. By refusing to support candidates whose records are bad, voters can compel the nomination of candidates who will prove honest and efficient public servants.

Independent voting

You may be surprised to learn that a large proportion of voters fail to go to the polls at all on election day. These persons have only themselves to blame if the business of government is badly managed. The people who believe in good government and in the enforcement of law are always in the majority; but on election day many of them do not take the trouble to vote. On the other hand, the voters who are trying to elect dishonest or incompetent candidates never fail to put their ballots in the box. It has been suggested that some plan should be devised which would compel every one to vote; certain it is that the voter who does not exercise this privilege fails in his supreme duty as a citizen.

Stay-at-home voters

30. **Direct Legislation.** Sometimes voters do more than select public officials. Frequently they are asked

to vote directly whether a certain measure shall become a law. This is called *direct legislation*, because the voters are acting directly, instead of through their representatives. In the New England town-meeting, we have an example of direct voting upon proposed laws by the individual voters.

In other sections of the country, this form of direct legislation is employed only in the case of important measures. For example, from early times it has been customary to refer proposed constitutions or constitutional amendments to a vote of the people. Referring a proposed measure to popular vote for approval or rejoction is called a *referendum*. It is often employed in case of a proposed bond issue; or to determine whether a constitutional amendment shall be adopted; or whether a franchise or privilege shall be granted by government to a corporation. The great value of the referendum is that it affords a definite means of ascertaining public sentiment on a proposed measure.

Referendum

Another form of direct legislation is the *initiative*, which empowers a certain percentage of the voters to propose laws. For example, the constitution of Oregon provides that eight per cent of the voters may propose a measure, which must afterwards be submitted to the voters at election. If approved by them, it becomes a law just as if passed by the legislature.

Initiative

The great value of direct legislation is that it gives to voters themselves the final authority to decide upon important measures. Then if legislators betray their trust, the people have the remedy in their own hands. Through the *referendum* they may demand a popular vote on the measure, and

Advantages of direct legislation

defeat it. Or if the legislature should refuse to pass a measure clearly desired by the voters, the *initiative* enables them to legislate for themselves. Thus the referendum and the initiative serve as valuable checks upon the action of legislative bodies, making it easier for the voters to control their government.

QUESTIONS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Distinguish between an inhabitant, a citizen, and a voter.
2. Are all citizens voters? In your State must a voter be a citizen?
3. What are the qualifications for voters in your State? What classes of individuals are expressly disqualified, and why?
4. Examine the report of the last census, and ascertain the total number of citizens and the number of voters in your city or county. How many votes are usually cast in your city and county elections?
5. In the last State election, how many votes were cast in your county for governor? What number of voters failed to exercise the right of suffrage? Should a man without property be allowed to vote? Should a man without education be allowed to vote?
6. Is registration required in your State? In all communities, or in cities of a certain size? What are the advantages of registration?
7. Is the system of registration annual as in New York, or permanent as in Massachusetts? Describe the process of registration in your community.
8. Give the time of holding local, State, and national elections in your commonwealth. What are the reasons for holding these at the same or different times?
9. State the advantages and disadvantages of frequent elections.
10. Which form of the Australian ballot is used in your State?
11. Where is the polling-place in your precinct? How many votes were cast there at the last election? During what hours were the polls open?
12. In your State what candidates are nominated by conventions? By direct primaries? By petition? What are the advantages of each method?

CHAPTER IV

POLITICAL PARTIES AND THEIR WORK

31. Origin of Political Parties. At the very beginning of our national government, the question of the adoption of the federal constitution led to the formation of political parties. The group of men who favored the adoption of the new constitution called themselves Federalists; those who opposed it were known as Anti-Federalists. After the constitution had been adopted (1789), the Federalists urged that the new national government should have large powers; while their opponents, the Republicans, held the opposite view. As new questions came up in our national history, it was natural for men holding similar views to unite in order to support the policies in which they believed; so the party system continued. The questions of a federal bank, of a protective tariff, of internal improvements by the federal government — these were subjects on which men held diverse views; and so we find the political parties opposing each other on these issues. The slavery question was of such overwhelming importance that it finally led to the rise of a new party, composed of men opposed to the extension of slavery.

Party issues

32. Functions of Political Parties. Thus we see that political parties are made up of persons holding similar views on political questions, who have united in a party in order to act more effectively. The most

important work of the political party is the nomination for public office of candidates who are pledged to carry out certain policies. Parties also adopt platforms, or declarations of principles, which are placed before the voters for approval or rejection. You of course know that another function of parties is to carry on political campaigns, by which they endeavor to secure support for their candidates and policies. Thus the four functions which political parties perform are: (1) uniting in one group large numbers of voters who hold similar political views; (2) the nomination of candidates; (3) the adoption of platforms; and (4) the management of campaigns.

Three important services

33. **How Political Parties are Organized.** To carry out these functions, party members must work together under some plan or organization. Accordingly, party business is carried on: (1) by nominating conventions, which meet before elections to name candidates and adopt platforms; and (2) by party committees, permanent bodies which arrange for the conventions, conduct political campaigns, and have the general management of party affairs. Each party has a national committee for the entire United States, a State committee in each State, and a local committee for each county, city, and township.

Conventions and committees

34. **Party Primaries.** One method of nominating candidates for office is by means of the party convention, which may be either a local, State, or national assembly, depending upon whether the officers to be nominated are local, State, or

Purpose of the primary

national officials. A nominating convention is a meeting of delegates chosen by the members of a party for the purpose of nominating candidates for office, adopting platforms, and transacting other party business. If a State election is to be held, the State committee of each party sends out a written notice or *call* for the convention.[1] This call tells when the convention is to be held, and the number of delegates to be chosen from each city, township, or county. Delegates are then elected at party primaries held in each of the small election districts into which townships and city wards are divided. These primaries are similar to regular elections, except in one important particular: only those who belong to the party may vote at its primaries. Of course, only members of the party should have the privilege of selecting the delegates who are to nominate the party's candidates. Accordingly, only Republicans vote at the primaries of their party, only Democrats at the Democratic primaries.

It is of the greatest importance that every voter should cast a ballot at his party primary, and thus help choose good men as delegates to his party convention. Otherwise party affairs may be badly managed, and unworthy candidates nominated. Notwithstanding the importance of the primaries, the majority of voters do not take the trouble to attend them. They leave the selection of delegates to the party managers, who are actively

Importance of the primary

[1] In a similar way, the local party committee has charge of local conventions, and the national party committee, of the national convention which nominates presidential candidates.

interested. Then if unworthy delegates are chosen, and poor nominations made, they denounce the politicians and the party system; whereas they should blame themselves in having failed to fulfill an all-important duty. "The prime thing that every man who takes an interest in politics should remember is, that he must act, and not merely criticize the action of others. It is not the man who sits by his fireside reading his evening paper, and saying how bad our politics and politicians are, who will ever do anything to save us; it is the man who goes out into the rough hurly-burly of the caucus, the primary, and the political meeting, and there faces his fellows on equal terms. The real service is rendered, not by the critic who stands aloof from the contest, but by the man who enters into it and bears his part as a man should."[1]

35. The State Convention and its Work. On the day appointed for the State convention, the delegates chosen at the primaries assemble. The convention is called to order by the chairman of the State committee, and the secretary of that committee reads the call. Prayer is then offered by a local clergyman. Motions are carried for the appointment by the chair of a committee on credentials, a committee on permanent organization, and a committee on resolutions. Permanent officers of the convention are elected, including a president, a secretary, a sergeant-at-arms, and numerous vice-presidents. The president of the convention is generally a prominent party leader, and upon taking the chair he delivers a "keynote" speech upon the issues of the campaign.

Organization of the convention

[1] Roosevelt, Theodore, *American Ideals*, p. 37.

Then follows the report of the committee on credentials, stating the number of delegates present, and rendering a decision upon contested seats. The platform is next read by the chairman of the committee on resolutions, and ordinarily is accepted without amendment.

The convention then takes up its most important work — the nomination of candidates. The chair appoints a committee of tellers to take charge of the ballots, and nominations for the office of governor are declared in order. After the nominating speeches have been made, the balloting commences. When one candidate receives a majority of all votes cast, it is customary to move that his nomination be made unanimous. The convention then proceeds with the nomination of candidates for other State offices. Toward the close of the proceedings, all the nominees are sometimes escorted to the platform by a committee appointed for that purpose; and after being introduced by the chairman, each candidate in turn responds with a short speech.

Candidates and platform

State conventions usually select the members of the State committee to serve until the next convention, and in presidential years nominate the four delegates at large to the national convention.

36. Direct Primary System. The convention method of nominating candidates is the older plan, still widely used; but in most States, candidates are nominated not by conventions, but by a direct vote of the members of their party. This is known as the "direct primary system." The names of persons who desire to be nominated are placed

Eliminates the convention

on the ballot, and on a certain day an election is held. This is similar to a regular election, except that voters declare to which party they belong, and vote only for candidates of that party. In each party those individuals are nominated who receive the largest number of votes cast by the party members. The great merit of this plan is that it does away with the abuses of the convention system, especially machine control, and makes the party more responsible to its members.

At first used only for local offices, direct primaries have grown in favor until now, in addition to local candidates, State officers and United States Senators are often nominated in this way. Oregon and Wisconsin took the lead in adopting the new system; and their example has since been followed by many other States. Party leaders generally oppose this plan, since it lessens their power. On the other hand, voters are inclined to favor the plan. It enables them to vote directly for the party's nominees, instead of entrusting this duty to delegates who sometimes fail to carry out the wishes of the voters.

Favored by voters

37. Nomination by Petition. Another method which likewise does away with the convention is nomination by petition; this is commonly used for the nomination of members of boards of education, and other non-partisan candidates. Under this plan, a candidate may be nominated by filing with the election officers a petition, signed by a certain number of voters, who are usually required to pledge that they will support the candidate named in the petition.

Encourages independent voting

Some States permit all local officers to be nominated

by petition. Then if both parties nominate undesirable candidates, independent voters may organize, and name a good man. The petition method thus furnishes independent voters with a powerful weapon, and aids in securing good nominations by the political parties.

38. **The Party Committees.** Since the convention is only a temporary body, a permanent agency is needed to carry on the everyday business of party management. Hence the convention elects standing committees — national, State, and local — which manage party affairs until the next convention. It is the business of the standing committees to issue calls for primaries and conventions, to manage campaigns, organize political clubs, and in general to advance the party's interests.

Functions

The entire group of party committees is spoken of as the "machine" or "organization." We often hear the party machine severely denounced, especially when it dictates nominations, thus dominating instead of serving the party. To accomplish this result, the machine must control the primaries; for only in this way can delegates be chosen who are favorable to the wishes of the organization. Local committees often make up a ticket or slate previous to the primary, and endeavor to secure the election of "hand-picked" convention delegates. This usurpation of power is frequently successful, owing to the lack of interest taken by the ordinary voter in party management. Thus control of nominations and party policies is largely in the hands of committees, which are supposed to be only agencies for carrying out the will of the voters.

The party machine

Within recent years there has been a marked tendency for political organizations to pass under the control of a single person. Owing to his superior skill and sagacity, some leader often wins the title of party "Boss" by establishing himself as the chief controlling factor in local or even in State party affairs. Large cities have commonly been the most favorable fields for the "Boss" and for machine control generally, because of the numerous offices and the frequent opportunities to secure illicit gains. Sometimes the sphere of the "Boss" is larger than the city; he may control the party organization of the entire State, thus establishing himself as a State "Boss."

The "Boss"

39. **Party Responsibility.** The great problem in American politics is to make the political party in fact, as well as in theory, responsible to its members. Too often the ordinary citizen is compelled to choose between candidates for office who have been nominated by the small group of politicians in control of each party. The right to choose between two candidates in whose nomination the voter has had nothing to say may be democratic government in form, but it is not in substance. Since the parties control the government, it is essential to representative rule that the parties themselves be effectually controlled by their members.

Members must control parties

Serious abuses on the part of the machine sometimes end in a revolt within the ranks of the party. The rebellious members may support the candidates of the opposing party as a rebuke to machine methods, or else form an organization within their own party

with which to fight the machine. Direct nominations constitute the most promising means of checking high-handed methods of the party organization; but up to the present, no remedy has been found which will effectually prevent the tendency of party organizations to dominate, rather than to serve their party.

Thus we see that the citizen who does his full duty by his country must take an active part in political life. Practical results can be accomplished only when a voter acts in combination with others. "If he is a Republican, let him join his local Republican association; if a Democrat, the Democratic association; if an Independent, then let him put himself in touch with those who think as he does. In any event, let him make himself an active force, and make his influence felt. Whether he works within or without party lines, he can surely find plenty of men who are desirous of good government, and who, if they act together, become at once a power on the side of righteousness." [1]

The voter's duty in politics

QUESTIONS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. What is a political party? Describe the functions which it performs.
2. Prepare a report upon the principles and leaders of the Federalist party.
3. Describe the principles of Jefferson and the Democratic-Republican party.
4. What were the political principles of the Whig party?
5. Give an account of the rise of the present Republican party.
6. Describe the political parties and issues in the campaign of 1860.
7. How many members compose the Democratic State commit-

[1] Roosevelt, Theodore, *American Ideals*, p. 39.

tee in your commonwealth? The State committee of the Republican party? How are the members of each committee chosen?

8. Who are the members of the local county committees in your county, city, ward, and precinct? How are they chosen?
9. What do you understand by the party machine? The party boss? Name the chief party leaders in your community.
10. Describe the work performed by the party machine. (Bryce, James, *The American Commonwealth*, II, pp. 90–96.)
11. What were the principal issues between the two parties at your last State election? Who were the leading candidates of each party? Results of the election?
12. Give the same facts with regard to your municipal election.
13. In the choice of local officers, which is of greater importance to the voter — that a candidate belongs to a particular party, or that he possess a high degree of honesty and ability?
14. Are members of your board of education chosen on a party ticket, or nominated by petition and chosen by ballots which contain no party emblems or names? Give arguments in favor of the latter method.
15. Answer the same questions with regard to candidates for the judiciary in your State.
16. What are the arguments in favor of fewer elective offices and short ballots? (Kaye, P. L., *Readings*, pp. 384–391.)
17. In your State are candidates for office required to file a statement of their election expenses? What is the object of such a requirement?

CHAPTER V

THE PROTECTION OF THE PUBLIC

40. Why Protection is Needed. We have learned from Chapter II that the most important function which government performs is the protection of its citizens. No matter what other services it might render, no one would care to live under a government which did not protect the lives and property of its citizens. You have no doubt read of those misguided men called anarchists who are opposed to all government on the ground that it interferes with the liberty of the individual. As a matter of fact, men can enjoy real liberty only under the protection which government affords; for without that protection no one would be secure in the enjoyment of his life and property.

Government makes liberty possible

Suppose your teacher should tell you that hereafter there are to be no rules in your school, and that pupils may do just as they please: study or not, as they prefer; talk or play games whenever they like; come to school or not, as they choose; destroy their textbooks or carve up their desks, if the fancy pleases them. What kind of school do you imagine you would have? Perhaps some of you might enjoy this school for a little while; but is it not likely that the more sensible members of your class would soon decide that rules are necessary for the school if it is to serve its purpose as a place for

Government in the school

your education? Would you not in all probability agree that rules forbidding whispering, requiring earnest effort from each pupil, and demanding regular and punctual attendance on the part of all, are necessary for the common good of your school?

41. **Laws and Lawmaking.** Equally necessary are laws, which in fact are only rules that have been adopted for the common good of society. Even if all men were honest, and truthful, and well disposed toward one another, laws would still be needed for our mutual guidance; how much more necessary are they when some men are false, and dishonest, and malicious!

Who makes the laws or rules by which our conduct must be regulated? Under our republican form of government, the people themselves, acting through their representatives. We elect the members of the legislature which meets at the State capital and passes our laws; and we elect the governor, the sheriff, and the other principal officers whose duty it is to see that these laws are enforced

How laws are made

Hence the policeman who arrests a thief, or who breaks up a disorderly crowd, is not enforcing his own ideas of what is right or proper; he is enforcing the rules which the citizens of the community have adopted for their common protection. Respect for the law and prompt obedience to its commands is the first and greatest duty which each citizen owes to his country. If the law seems unwise or unjust, let him seek to have it repealed; but so long as it is the law, he should obey it. Otherwise he does not deserve the protection of the

Why all should obey the law

government whose laws safeguard our lives, our property, and our homes.

42. Local Peace Officers and their Duties. The preservation of public peace and order is primarily a function of local officials. In rural communities, the constable is the officer who enforces law and order; while in the cities this duty is performed by policemen who patrol regular routes or "beats." The chief duty of the police is to prevent crimes and to arrest offenders; but they perform many other important services, such as controlling traffic on crowded streets, holding back the crowds which gather at fires, giving help in case of accidents, and answering the questions of strangers or other persons who need to be shown their way. The policemen are under the direction of a chief of police, who is generally chosen by a board of police commissioners, or appointed by the director of public safety.[1]

The police

Each county has an important peace officer known as the sheriff, elected by the voters. The office of sheriff is of very ancient origin; it dates back more than fourteen centuries to Anglo-Saxon England. In those early days, the counties of England were called shires, and the chief military officer of the shire was the *shire-reeve*, or sheriff. This officer led the shire's fighting men in time of war; in time of peace it was his duty to execute the laws of the land and to maintain order throughout the shire. Similar powers to enforce the law and to arrest offenders are to-day vested in our sheriff, aided

The sheriff

[1] In New York City the police force numbers 10,000 men, a larger army than the one commanded by Washington during the Revolution.

by his deputies. If necessary he may call upon any able-bodied men in the county to assist him in making arrests; this is called *summoning a posse*. The sheriff also has charge of the county jail, and the prisoners confined there.

43. **How the State and National Governments help preserve Order.** If a riot breaks out of so serious a character that the sheriff and the police find themselves unable to suppress it, the sheriff may request the governor of the State to send the militia to his aid. All able-bodied men in the State between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years belong to the militia, and may be called upon for military service if needed. But under ordinary circumstances only two or three companies of the organized militia or national guard are called out to suppress a riot.

The State militia

If the State militia cannot check the rioters, the governor may request the President to send federal troops to the scene; and if necessary, the President will use the whole military power of the national government to suppress the outbreak. During the great railway strike of 1894, President Cleveland sent federal troops into Illinois to end the lawlessness which the State authorities could not suppress. The worst cases of rioting and lawlessness soon disappear when the regulars arrive on the scene.

Federal aid

44. **The Courts and Law Enforcement.** One of the most dangerous foes to popular government is the mob which seeks to lynch some person accused of crime. Lynching is as lawless as the offense which the mob seeks to punish; it substitutes the passion

of the mob for the procedure of the courts, and denies its victim the fair trial to which he is entitled under the law.

Only the courts have power to decide whether a person is guilty of crime; and it is before these tribunals that accused persons should be brought to trial. The accused must have a copy of the formal charge or "indictment" against him; he is entitled to an attorney for his defense; and to be confronted by the witnesses who testify against him. His trial must be a public one, and his guilt must be proven to the satisfaction of each member of an impartial jury of twelve men.

Trial of accused persons

Such are the safeguards approved by the wisdom of the ages as necessary to prevent injustice. The welfare of society demands that no guilty person should escape punishment for his offense; but it is even more important that no innocent man should suffer for the crime of another. The courts and the laws constitute the great safeguards of individual liberty, as well as the chief agency for the suppression of crime and disorder. The man who breaks the laws, the mob which seeks to lynch a criminal, the anarchist who would overthrow organized government, all are in the same dishonorable class: they are traitors to our country, like the Benedict Arnold whose name stands for infamy in American history.

Laws safeguard our rights

45. **The Punishment of Offenders.** Persons accused of crime are taken to the police station, and unless released on bail, they are placed in the county jail to await their trial. If convicted of a minor offense, they are imprisoned in the city

Prisons

workhouse; but if the offense is a serious one, called a felony, they are sent to the State penitentiary. The object of punishment is to protect society by deterring others from committing similar acts; and if possible, to reform the offender and induce him to become a law-abiding citizen.

Juvenile offenders

In many States, special prisons known as reformatories are provided for youthful offenders, to prevent them from coming in contact with hardened criminals. For similar reasons, special juvenile courts are provided in many cities, separate from the regular police court, for the trial of boys and girls who have broken the laws. These youthful offenders often err from ignorance rather than from malicious intent; and the object of juvenile courts and juvenile homes is to show them the error of their ways before it is too late; otherwise the petty offender of to-day may become the hardened criminal of to-morrow.

46. Protection from Fire. But you are not to suppose that the prevention and punishment of crime is the only way in which government protects us. This is a fundamental service, but there are many other ways by which government protects our lives and property. You are all familiar with the work of the noble firemen who risk their lives to put out fires. In spite of their efforts, the loss by fire in the United States is more than $300,000,000 each year. To cope with this destroying element, nearly all cities have a force of regular firemen organized into companies, and equipped with modern apparatus for fighting fires.

Losses by fire

All of you know about the fire alarm system, by

which a fire can be immediately announced to the nearest station. Within a minute after the alarm is received, the steam fire engines, the hook and ladder, and other equipment of the fire department will be driven down the street at full speed, with the firemen ready for any emergency.[1] Fire towers have been invented to aid in throwing water on high buildings; and some cities located on rivers have fire tugs which throw immense streams of water. In equipment and efficiency, the fire departments of the United States are far in advance of those of any other country.

Fire equipment and apparatus

Many fires would not occur, or could be checked with less difficulty, if the building rules of the city were more strictly enforced. Generally the construction of wooden buildings within the central part of the city is forbidden, this being known as the "fire limits." Before a building is constructed anywhere in the city, a permit must be secured from the city's building inspector, whose duty it is to see that only safe structures are erected. But these rules are often disregarded, sometimes with terrible consequences. The horror of the Iroquois theatre fire in Chicago might have been averted if the fire rules had been enforced; the school children at Collinwood, Ohio, would not have perished had the doors of their schoolhouse opened outward.[2] Proper con-

Building regulations to prevent fires

[1] In the large cities, and in many smaller ones, motorized equipment is now used by the fire department.

[2] The Iroquois theatre fire, which caused the death of 531 persons, occurred in 1903. At the Collinwood school fire (1908), 160 pupils lost their lives. To guard against another catastrophe of this kind, the State of Ohio has passed strict laws governing the construction of school buildings

struction of buildings, safe and adequate means of exit — these simple precautions you might think everyone would observe; but they are often overlooked or ignored, criminal carelessness which results in the loss of thousands of human lives.

47. **The Importance of Public Health.** As you will learn in your later study of history, ancient Greece gave to the world magnificent achievements in sculpture, architecture, philosophy, and literature; so that the world of to-day still turns for inspiration to the master minds of classic Greece. The Greeks also taught the world the importance of physical training and physical well-being, the need of sound and well-developed bodies in order that each individual might fulfill his part in doing the world's work. The Greek nation believed one of the chief purposes of government to be the care of the physical health and well-being of its citizens.

The Greek ideal — a sound body

To-day we realize more fully than ever before that the Greeks were right in attributing so much importance to physical well-being. In our schools we give more attention than formerly to physical training and education; we recognize the truth of the maxim "a sound mind in a sound body." Medical inspection of school children is now carried on in many cities by physicians employed by the board of education, or by the board of health. The object of this inspection is to prevent the spread of contagious disease, and to induce parents to correct such physical defects as adenoids and enlarged tonsils, which interfere with the child's physical and mental growth.

School medical inspection

A STREET-CLEANING SQUAD AT WORK

In New York, the force of laborers in the street-cleaning department is uniformed; the sweepers wearing white duck suits and helmets, — whence the nickname "white wings"; the men employed on the carts, brown; and the foremen and superintendents, gray. This force totals considerably over 5000. The total length of paved streets under their care is about 2000 miles, and the area in square yards over 30,000,000. The streets are swept and scraped for the most part by hand, although machines also are used, especially for flushing and sprinkling the roadways. The sidewalks are cared for by the owners of abutting property.

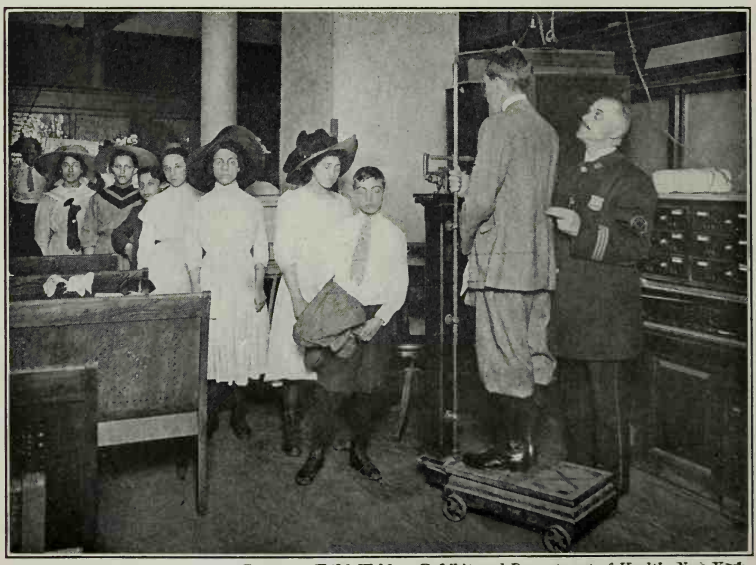
Courtesy, Knox Automobile Company

AN AUTOMOBILE FIRE-ENGINE OF THE LATEST TYPE

Courtesy, Department of Health, New York.

MILK INSPECTION AT A RETAIL STORE

An examiner is testing the quality and purity of the milk before allowing its distribution to consumers.



Courtesy, Child Welfare Exhibit and Department of Health, New York.

PHYSICAL EXAMINATION FOR WORKING PAPERS

The laws of many States require that all children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen shall have certificates of good health before they can be employed in business. Any employer who hires a child without such a certificate is liable to a fine. The certificates are sometimes granted by the Board of Health or in some States by an officer of the Board of Education.

48. Protection of Public Health by the Local Community. In each community the protection of public health is primarily a duty of local officials. These generally include a board of health, chosen by the voters; a chief health officer, aided in the larger cities by a force of sanitary police; and a number of city physicians, who care for persons too poor to employ medical aid. The board of health has power to adopt rules to prevent the spread of contagious disease; these rules are enforced by the chief health officer, who is generally a physician of wide experience. Every physician in the city must report to the health department all cases of contagious disease under his care. The houses of these persons are then placarded, and all children who live there must remain away from school until the health officer permits them to return.

Local health officials

The sanitary officers of the health department inspect the milk, meat, and other foods offered for sale in the city; they examine the kitchens of hotels and restaurants to see that sanitary conditions prevail; and they visit the premises of individual citizens if conditions seem to demand an investigation. Surface wells are commonly prohibited in cities, because they are often responsible for epidemics of typhoid; compulsory vaccination is generally insisted upon as a protection against smallpox; and many other sanitary regulations are adopted by local health boards, and enforced by their officers. Lack of proper sanitation in a single home may involve the health of an entire community, and so the

Duties of sanitary officers

community may rightly insist upon controlling the conditions that affect its physical welfare.

49. Health Services of State and National Governments. Control of public health is left primarily to local boards and officials; but in order that important regulations may be uniformly enforced, there is a State board of health which aims to protect the health of the entire State. The State board of health adopts regulations designed to prevent the pollution of rivers and other streams; it enforces the laws concerning adulteration of foods; and it administers the quarantine measures necessary to protect the people of the State from contagious disease.

State health boards

The national government also performs important services in protecting the public health. Immigrants landing in this country are inspected by physicians in the employ of the federal government. If found to be suffering from contagious disease, they are quarantined, and in case of certain diseases, returned to their foreign homes. National health officers sometimes coöperate with State officials in stamping out dangerous epidemics, such as yellow fever or smallpox. A most important step for the protection of the public health was taken by Congress in passing a pure food law. All foods and drugs offered for sale in receptacles must have their contents plainly marked on the outside, and if adulterated in any way, that fact must be stated. "Pure maple sugar," in other words, must be in fact pure; this law therefore protects honest manufacturers as well as the public.

Services of the national government.

50. Important Aids to Public Health. One of the most important factors in the health of any community is a water-supply free from the germs of disease. Costly filtration plants are sometimes necessary to insure this; while other cities are able to secure pure water from mountain streams, or from the Great Lakes or rivers. In most of the larger cities of the United States, as well as in many smaller ones, the waterworks system is owned by the municipality. The cost of operation is paid from rates or charges levied against users of the water.

Pure water-supply

A sanitary sewerage system is likewise of great importance to the health of the city. Sewers are constructed under the supervision of city officials, the cost being assessed against the owners of adjoining property.

Sewer system

Street cleaning, and the removal of waste and garbage, are other functions of vital concern to the public health. This service often involves the employment of a large force of men, the work being carried on under the direction of city officials.

Street cleaning

51. Street Lighting. Street lighting serves to protect the public, for darkness is the friend of crime. In a number of cities, the lighting plants are the property of the municipality; but more commonly they are owned by private companies which the city has authorized to perform this service. This permission is granted in the form of a franchise or contract between the city and the company. The franchise regulates the rates which may be charged, and defines the rights of the company on the one hand, and the city on the other. Since the

Franchises and their importance

franchise gives the company a monopoly, or exclusive right to render this service, it is essential that its terms shall safeguard carefully the rights of the community. Franchises are granted by the city council; but in many cities, these grants must be submitted for approval to a popular vote, provided a certain number of voters request this *referendum*.

52. Public Parks and Playgrounds. Those of you who have yards about your homes will know how to sympathize with the thousands of boys and girls in many of our cities who have no place to play except the streets. Everyone agrees that children should have outdoor play, in order that they may have a healthy and happy childhood; but in the rapid building up of our cities, provision for public playgrounds has often been overlooked. Within recent years, men have begun to realize that in many cities children are being deprived of their natural birthright — a place in which to play. So a national playground association has been formed, which aims to arouse public interest and to secure playgrounds in every city. Over two hundred cities have now set aside public playgrounds, equipped with gymnastic apparatus, swimming pools, and ball grounds. In many cities the board of education aims to provide a playground in connection with each school building; these are used by the children before school and during recess, and sometimes are kept open in the afternoon and during vacations.

Municipal playgrounds

Playgrounds are intended chiefly for boys and girls; but both old and young may enjoy the beautiful parks which are provided by our city governments. Parks

are especially necessary in the larger cities, with their congested population; but in smaller cities as well, they afford a much-needed opportunity for rest and recreation, for the enjoyment of fresh pure air, and grass and trees and flowers. The botanical garden and zoölogical museum — better known to children as the "zoo" — are sometimes features of the public park; and provision is frequently made for outdoor sports, swimming pools, and park gymnasiums. Public parks

53. Regulation of Business and Occupations. Certain kinds of business are regulated by government for the sake of the public health or safety. Thus the manufacture of explosives is prohibited in cities; slaughter houses are permitted only in certain sections of the city, where the business will not become a public nuisance; and factories are often required to use smoke consumers, which aid in consuming the smoke that otherwise pours out of the factory chimneys over the city.

The liquor traffic has been regulated in various ways in order to protect the public welfare. Before the adoption of national prohibition, thirty-one States had prohibited the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors. Others permitted the voters of local areas to decide by popular vote whether saloons should be licensed. Finally, Congress adopted a constitutional amendment forbidding the manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquors throughout the United States. This amendment was ratified by three fourths of the State legislatures, and became part of the national constitution in 1919. The liquor traffic

54. The Need of Capable Officials. From this

chapter we have seen that government protects the citizens from the perils arising from disease, from losses by fire, and from the criminals who are a constant menace to life and property. This protection is generally afforded by local governments; the State government acts only when the welfare of the whole State demands it, and the national government only when national interests are at stake. So the matters which concern us most are in charge of our local governments. That our streets shall be clean, and safe, and well lighted, our police and fire departments honestly and efficiently managed, our water-supply pure and adequate — these are matters more vital to us than the issues of State and national politics, which generally attract so much more attention.

Important position of local governments

Fortunately, men are coming to pay less attention to the question whether a street commissioner is a Democrat or a Republican, and more to the question of his honesty and efficiency; and this independence in the selection of local officials should prove the salvation of our local governments. James Bryce, our most kindly foreign critic, has said that "the government of American cities is the one conspicuous failure of the United States." [1] In so far as our city governments have failed, the failure has been largely due to the fact that our city officials have been chosen because of their party standing, rather than because of their record for honesty and efficiency. The remedy consists in greater watchfulness on the part of each individual citizen, and abso-

Necessity of independent voting

[1] Bryce, James, *The American Commonwealth*, I, p. 637.

lute independence in voting for local officials. The cities of Europe have set us a good example in this respect; the mayor of the European city is generally chosen because of his qualifications for the position, not because of his views on national politics. The great need of our American cities is less politics and more efficiency in their management.

55. **Responsibility of the Individual.** But while we look to government for the protection of life, health, and property, we must not overlook our own responsibility in the matter. We should remember that the health of the whole community depends largely upon the watchfulness and care of each individual. If each one of us keeps his own premises clean, he is protecting the health of the entire neighborhood as well as his own. The boy or girl who throws waste paper or rubbish upon the lawn or the street is making needless work for the community which is striving after cleanliness and health. The man who spits on the sidewalk or in any public place is not only indulging a filthy habit, but by example if in no other way he may be adding to the danger from tuberculosis — the dread disease which destroys thousands each year. Government can do much, but it cannot make all individuals careful of the rights of others, clean in their personal habits, painstaking in the care of their surroundings, and at all times scrupulously obedient to the laws. For this result it relies on the boys and girls whom it is educating at the public expense, and who will some day be responsible for all the conditions that surround them.

QUESTIONS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. What authorities have charge of the maintenance of public peace and order in your community? How are these officers chosen? Term? How removed?
2. Explain how the federal government coöperates in maintaining order in your commonwealth, both in suppressing crimes against federal laws, and in supporting the authority of the State government.
3. How many men are included in the national guard of your State? What is the period of enlistment? Where are the men drilled?
4. Under what circumstances may the governor of your State call out its militia for active service? Has it been necessary to call out the militia within recent years?
5. Give instances of important health regulations adopted by your local health department.
6. Prepare for the class a description of your city water supply, showing its source and how it is kept pure.
7. What is a felony under the laws of your State? Name several crimes which are felonies.
8. What industries are carried on in your State penitentiary? Explain the advantages to the State and to the prisoners of keeping the latter employed at useful labor.
9. What industrial or reform schools are there in your State? Are they accomplishing good results?
10. Is there a juvenile court in your community? If so, describe its work, and that of the probation officers.
11. Prepare a report on one of the departments below, showing what is the purpose of the department, how the employees are paid, and what your own responsibility is to help make this department efficient: Parks and playgrounds, police, fire, water, streets, sewage disposal, garbage collection, public health, milk inspection, weights and measures inspection.
12. Learn and report to the class what takes place when you turn in a fire alarm.
13. Explain how you would go about to report something that you knew to be a violation of the rules of health, such as the pollution of the water supply.
14. What is a franchise? Why is it granted to private companies?

CHAPTER VI

PUBLIC EDUCATION

56. Attitude of the Community toward Education. No doubt all of you know something about Shakespeare, the greatest dramatist of the English-speaking world; and some day you will probably read his great plays. In one of these, *As You Like It*, this great author represents the life of man as a drama in seven acts, from infancy to old age. The second act in life's drama is the school age; and Shakespeare pictures for us: —

> "The whining schoolboy, with his satchel,
> And shining morning face, creeping like snail
> Unwillingly to school."

Each September when school opens, the men who draw cartoons for our newspapers use Shakespeare's idea for their inspiration; they picture the schoolboy torn away from his vacation joys, and dragging his unwilling steps toward school. It is an interesting question whether the cartoonists are right, or whether boys and girls have changed their attitude toward school since Shakespeare's time.

57. What it means not to have Public Schools. What is the use of going to school? To-day some boys and girls, like the schoolboy of Shakespeare's play, still go because they are sent; but most of them go for a better reason. Why not let children go to school or not, as they

Why insist upon education

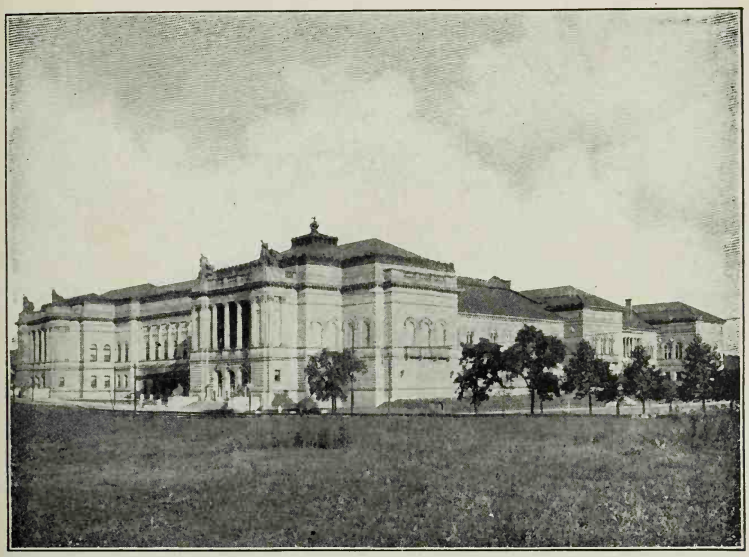
prefer? Why compel all parents, even the poorest, to send their children to school? Why should the people be taxed each year immense sums — equal to the value of all the gold taken from all the mines in the world — in order to provide free public schools? Why not let each parent pay for the education of his own children, provided he desires to educate them?

Suppose all the public schools of the land were to be closed to-morrow, and the twenty-one million pupils who attend them were allowed to remain at home, or were put to work in stores, factories, and on the farms, and only those were educated whose parents could afford to send them to private schools. What kind of country do you think we should have? You do not need to use your imagination to picture this — you can read for yourselves the story of life in Turkey, or Russia, or Africa, or Mexico. In these countries, the great mass of the people grow up in dense ignorance; and as you know, these are the countries where crime abounds, where government is despotic, where the people are so wretchedly poor that they are in constant danger from famine and pestilence. Should you say that these people live, or that they merely exist?

Results of ignorance

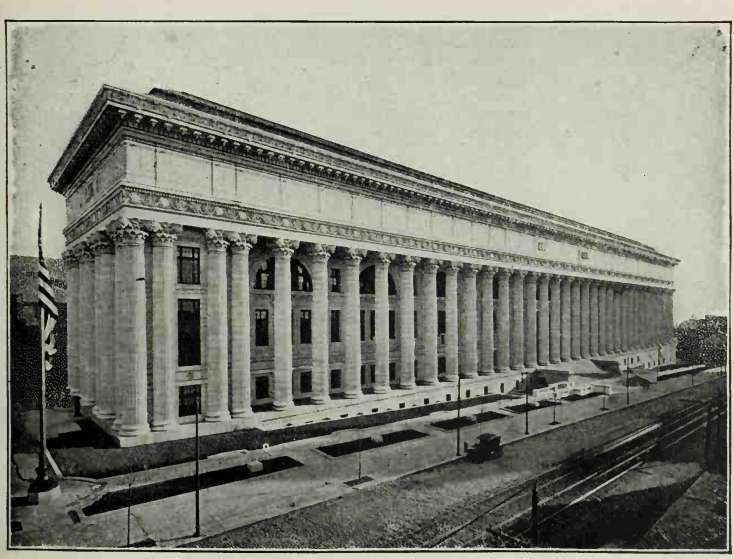
58. First Purpose of Education — Material Prosperity. So the first great purpose of public education is to increase the material prosperity of a nation; to raise its standard of life, so that its people shall have comfortable homes, and lead happy lives. Education means power — power to earn money, power to make a living. The man who cannot read and write finds a hundred doors of

Education increases earning power



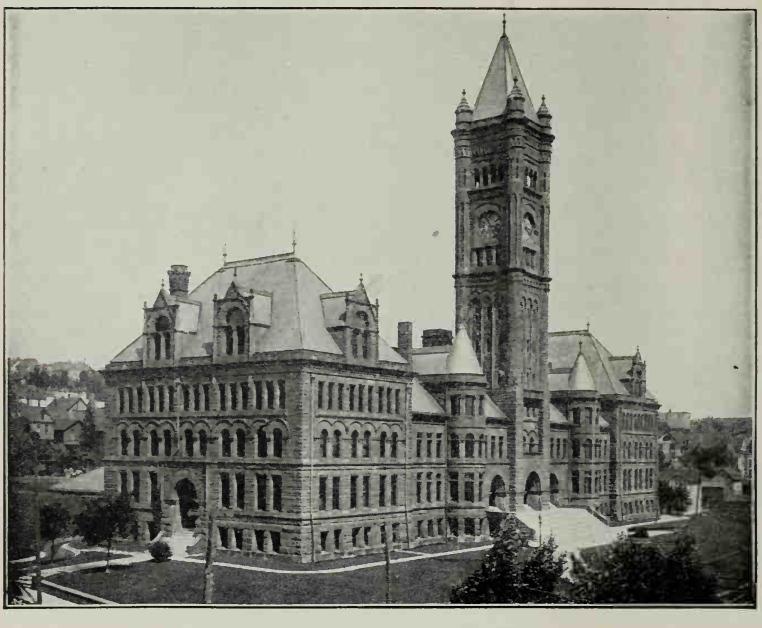
CARNEGIE INSTITUTE, PITTSBURGH

These buildings, presented to the city by Andrew Carnegie, contain a public library, a museum of natural history, an art gallery, and a concert hall.

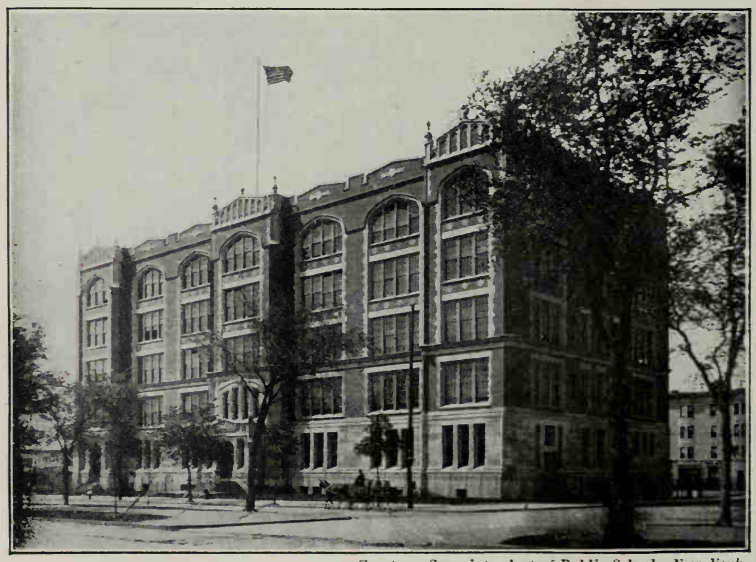


THE NEW YORK STATE EDUCATION BUILDING AT ALBANY

This edifice houses the State Library, and contains the administrative offices of the Department of Education, the State Museum, and an auditorium seating one thousand persons.



HIGH SCHOOL, DULUTH, MINN.



Courtesy, Superintendent of Public Schools, New York.

A GRAMMAR SCHOOL IN BROOKLYN, N. Y.

employment shut in his face. Employers who manage great industries want workers who can think; they need active brains as well as strong arms. The ignorant man will always do the hardest and most poorly paid kind of work. He is the unskilled laborer who digs the ditches, and lays the railroad ties, and mines the coal, and cleans the streets. His labor is both necessary and honorable, and if you wish to join him in his work, you can readily do so. Thousands of boys leave school each year for this very purpose; and by this action they may forever close behind them the door to progress and to large earning power. When they grow to manhood, they are likely to belong to that part of our industrial workers who earn wages that are small in comparison with those received by better-trained men. And the girls who are lacking in education limit their field of usefulness to those callings in which manual labor, rather than intelligence and skill, are the chief requisites.[1]

59. Second Purpose of Education — Enjoyment of Life. But education means more than the power to earn a living; it is the power to enjoy those things in life of greatest value. The educated man has for his companions not only the men and women of the world about him, but also the master minds of all ages and countries. Homer and Virgil, Shakespeare and Goethe, Tennyson and Longfellow, are his friends. For him Gibbon and Macaulay and

Enjoyments of the educated man

[1] The federal census places the number of wage earners employed in all manufacturing industries at 7,036,337. The largest numbers are in the following industries: cotton goods, railway-car construction, printing and publishing, clothing, and boots and shoes. In every industry, trained and educated workers command a better wage.

Green and Parkman and Motley paint with inspired brush the picture of the storied past. He hears again the voices of Demosthenes and Cicero, and Mirabeau and Fox, and Webster and Clay, the great orators who swayed men's hearts in ages past. For him, Hugo and Thackeray and Dickens, and Lowell and Emerson and Hawthorne, and all the great authors of the world, have a special message. His friends, too, are the artists and sculptors who have made canvas and marble to live and breathe through all the countless centuries — Phidias and Michelangelo and Donatello keeping noble company with Rubens and Rembrandt, and Van Dyke and Titian and Raphael. He listens to symphonies clear and sweet, silvery notes sounded upon the harp of life by the master hands of Mozart and Beethoven, and Bach and Schubert and Wagner, the mighty musicians whose majestic melodies still linger in human ears. To him Science opens her wonderful storehouse, and discloses the achievements of Bacon and Newton and Laplace, and Darwin and Huxley and Pasteur, and Koch and Thomson and Edison, the giant minds who have looked deep into the soul of things with the inspired intellect of human genius.

Last, but greatest of all sources of enjoyment to the educated man, there is the wonderful world of nature about him, whose mysteries he learns to read until he knows the hidden secret of flowers and trees, of birds and animals, the movement of the planets, and the solemn march of the stars. Then, like the banished duke in the forest of Arden, he who has been trained to understand the wonderful works of nature: —

"Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
Sermons in stones, and good in everything."

60. Third Purpose of Education — Training for Citizenship. Power to earn a living and power to enjoy life: these are two reasons for public education. To them must be added a third, of especial importance in a country like ours where the people govern themselves: that is, training for citizenship. The revolutions so frequent in the countries of Central and South America teach us the dangers from ignorant citizens. Popular government can succeed only when voters are intelligent enough to think for themselves, to know for what they are voting. Knowledge means power to see what is good for the city, the State, and the nation. History and civics, language and literature and mathematics, — all the studies of the public schools broaden the individual, and develop an all-round manhood and womanhood. Thus the public schools prepare boys and girls to do well their future part as citizens of our great Republic.

Popular government depends upon education

61. Education in Charge of State and Local Governments. In our country, control of education is in charge of the individual States, instead of the national government. The States have in turn placed this duty largely in the hands of local communities — the school-district, township, city, and county.

62. The District School System. Our common school system dates from colonial days, when Massachusetts provided that in every town of fifty inhabitants there should be an elementary school. As population moved westward, a similar district system was estab-

lished in other States; for the people of each locality naturally desired a school close at hand for the education of their children. So the western pioneers built the little red schoolhouse which has played so prominent a part in our national history. As you travel through our country to-day, you will find a schoolhouse every two or three miles, each the center of a small school district.

Characteristics of the district school

The control of the district school is in the hands of a board of trustees, generally three or five in number, who employ a teacher, levy the school tax, and look after school affairs. The number of pupils is small in most districts; and usually one teacher instructs all classes in the same room. If you have not attended such a school, perhaps your father or mother has done so, and can tell you all about it. If you live in the city, you may have more educational advantages than country children; but many of our greatest men were educated in the district school, and it has been one of the chief factors in our national progress.

63. Advantages and Disadvantages of the District System. The great merit of the district school system is, that it places elementary education easily within reach of all. Its drawback is that pupils of all ages and stages of advancement are taught by a single teacher, who can give only a small amount of time to each class. To overcome this disadvantage, all the district schools of the township are sometimes consolidated in one centrally located building, with several teachers.[1] By this plan pupils

Centralization

[1] In six States the district system has been abolished in favor of the

can be graded, and the different classes placed in separate rooms. Moreover, with the expenditure of less money, better paid and more efficient teachers can be employed. Township or "union" high schools are also established on this plan, since it is impossible for each small district to support a separate high school.

The disadvantage of consolidating rural schools is the distance which pupils must travel to reach the centralized school. This difficulty has been met in many communities by providing a stage which transports pupils to and from school. Transportation of pupils

In order to keep the rural schools up to a certain standard of excellence, each county generally employs a county superintendent, who supervises all the district and township schools within his county. County supervision

64. Administration of City Schools. Each city ordinarily constitutes a separate school district, with its own board of education chosen by the voters. The city board of education employs teachers, purchases school sites, erects and maintains buildings, and sometimes furnishes all the textbooks and other supplies used by the pupils. Members of city school boards generally receive no pay for their services, but the office is a most important one. The efficiency of the schools in any city depends in large measure upon the men who compose the board of education; for they have control of the schools, and expend the large sums of money necessary for their Board of education

township system; and in at least twenty others this action may be taken if the voters desire.

support. In order to keep the management of schools out of politics, members of the board of education are often elected on nonpartisan tickets. The important question is not whether a board member is a Democrat or a Republican, but whether he is broad-minded, honest, and capable.

Superintendent

The board of education employs a superintendent whose business it is to supervise the work of the schools, appoint teachers, recommend textbooks, prepare courses of study, and devise plans for improving the school system.

Work of city schools

Each city school building ordinarily contains from eight to twenty-four rooms; classes are graded from the primary room through the eighth grade, each having its own teacher; kindergartens are commonly provided for children four and five years of age; special instructors supervise the work in manual training, domestic science, sewing, drawing, music, physical training, and penmanship; playgrounds are equipped in connection with each building; special classes are provided for children who are backward or mentally defective; medical inspectors are sometimes employed to guard against contagious disease, and to raise the physical standard of pupils; open-air schools are maintained for children who have tuberculosis; night classes are conducted for employed persons who cannot attend day schools, — these are some of the educational functions of progressive city school systems. Recently many cities have adopted the Junior High School plan, under which the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades are organized as separate schools.

65. City High Schools. In addition to a number of elementary schools, each city maintains one or more high schools. These are housed in splendid buildings, which cost from three hundred thousand dollars in smaller cities to more than one million dollars in the larger ones. The modern high school has been called the "people's college"; and the work of these schools to-day is more than equivalent to that of the colleges forty years ago. Most high schools offer several courses of study, from which the pupil may choose the one which he wishes to follow; as, the manual training course, the commercial course, the college preparatory course, and many others. Well-equipped laboratories are provided for work in chemistry, physics, physiology, and other sciences; and some high schools have a splendid equipment for work in manual training, domestic science and art, and other practical subjects which are beginning to receive the attention they deserve.

Fortunate is the pupil who has such opportunities within his reach; yet thousands of children fail to take advantage of them. Only a small proportion of all the pupils in our public schools enter the high schools; but this number includes the boys and girls who will be best fitted to make their way in the world, and who will do most for themselves, their city, and the Republic.

66. Public Libraries. Close allies and friends of the schools are the public libraries maintained in almost every city of the United States. Here boys and girls may obtain books on any subject about which they wish to learn. Contrast your opportunities in this re-

spect with those of Lincoln, who walked many miles to borrow the book which he read by firelight after his hard day's toil. Are you as anxious to improve your mind as Lincoln was to improve his?

67. The State Educational Department. In most commonwealths there is a State superintendent or commissioner of schools, elected by the voters of the State, or appointed by the governor. This officer collects statistics, inspects school systems, reports to the legislature concerning the needs of the schools, and in general looks after the educational interests of the entire State.

State superintendent

In some commonwealths there is a State board of education with important duties, such as preparing courses of study, examining teachers, and sometimes selecting uniform textbooks for use throughout the State.

State board of education

68. Compulsory Education Laws. We have seen that, in our country, education is considered not only a privilege but a duty. Nearly all the States have compulsory education laws. These commonly require all children from eight to fourteen, or from eight to sixteen years of age, to attend school. The employment of children under fourteen or sixteen years is generally prohibited; and a fine may be imposed upon parents or employers who do not observe this law. The object of compulsory education is to protect the State from ignorance by assuring each child at least the elements of an education. Hence the boy who "plays truant" is not only violating the law of the State, but he is placing himself in the foolish position of one who steals from himself.

69. State Universities. In addition to the many private colleges and universities throughout the Union, forty commonwealths maintain State universities which students may enter upon completion of their high school course.[1] The State universities offer a wide variety of courses, in order to fit students for many different pursuits — for business life, teaching, law, medicine, pharmacy, engineering, forestry, and agriculture. They are open to both sexes, and tuition is usually free to all residents of the State.

These institutions aim to make their work practical, directly related to the life of the people of the State. They seek to improve agricultural methods, to advance manufacturing interests, to raise the standard of education and health among the people; in short, to do all that can be done by an educational institution to promote the welfare of the State.

Practical character

70. The Cost of Public Education. Many communities spend almost as much on their public schools as for all other local purposes combined. Our public schools are maintained at an annual cost of nearly $900,000,000. About eighty per cent of this immense sum is raised by taxation. You may judge what a high value the American people place upon education, since they are willing to tax themselves so freely in order that you may have the best education which money can provide.

71. The National Government and Education. We have seen that education is primarily in the hands of the individual States, which delegate this work to

[1] The forty State universities enroll about one third of the entire number of university students. Six of the ten largest universities in this country are State institutions.

local communities; but the national government has given valuable assistance. By a law passed in 1862, Congress provided that each State should receive 30,000 acres of public land for each Representative and Senator in Congress, the proceeds to be used for the support of agricultural and mechanical colleges. In addition to this gift, the national government makes an annual appropriation for each State agricultural college.

Land grants for higher education

For the support of the common or elementary schools, Congress has likewise made substantial gifts. Beginning with Ohio in 1802, each State admitted received one section of land in every township for the support of its common schools; and each State admitted after 1848 received two sections. The income from the sale of these lands is apportioned each year upon the basis of the number of children of school age within each township.

Grants for elementary education

In 1917 Congress passed the Smith-Hughes Act, which provides federal aid for vocational education. Each State accepting its provisions must establish a State board of control of day-industrial, evening, part-time, continuation, and agricultural and home-making schools. Each State must also agree to appropriate, either through the State or locally, an amount of money equivalent to the sum received from the federal government. The amounts appropriated under this act are to be increased each year until 1925, when the States will receive $7,000,000 from the national treasury in support of vocational education.

Smith-Hughes Act

The national government maintains at Washington

a bureau of education, in charge of the United States Commissioner of Education. This officer collects statistics and other information concerning public and private schools throughout the Union, publishes valuable reports on educational topics, and informs school officials concerning important work which is being undertaken in various communities. Thus the Commissioner and his Bureau promote the educational interests of the entire nation.

Bureau of Education

The national government provides schools for the Indians, and maintains the well-known academies at West Point and Annapolis for the education of officers for the army and navy.

QUESTIONS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. What are the boundaries of the school district in which you live? How many children of school age within this district? How many are enrolled in the public schools?
2. How many members comprise your board of education or school trustees? How are they chosen? What is their term of office? Name the members.
3. What amount of school revenue is derived from local taxation in your district? What is the rate of the local tax for school purposes?
4. Is there a law in your State compelling children of a certain age to attend school? If so, during what ages is such attendance required, and for what term each year? What is the penalty for the violation of this law, and upon whom imposed? Who enforces the compulsory education laws?
5. Explain the importance of public education in a democracy.
6. What obligations do pupils owe to their school? Do they owe any obligation to the community which provides them with free public education?
7. Is there county supervision of rural schools in your community? How is the county superintendent chosen? How are schools supervised in your district?

CHAPTER VII

PUBLIC CHARITIES

72. The Relation of Government to Charity. In every community there are certain members of society who are unable or unwilling to provide for themselves. These persons may be grouped in two classes: (1) the defectives, or those suffering from a serious physical or mental disability which incapacitates them from work, as the insane, the blind, the crippled, and the hopelessly diseased; (2) the dependent class, including those who through poverty are a burden on the community.

Defective and dependent classes

For its own protection, as well as from humanitarian motives, society must make provision for both the defective and the dependent classes. In earlier times, the relief of the destitute and helpless members of society was left to the church and to private charity. These agencies still coöperate in the work of charity, especially in caring for the sick and the destitute; but at the present time, government bears a large part of the burden of charities, including poor relief, and the care of the insane, the blind, deaf-mutes, and other defectives.

Public and private charity

The State and local governments coöperate in providing relief for these unfortunate persons. Poor relief is given by the local community, the township, city, or county; but so great is the expense of caring for the insane and other

Work of State and local governments

defectives that this duty is generally performed by the State government. Accordingly, each State maintains numerous large asylums and homes, to which defective persons are brought from all parts of the commonwealth.

73. Care of the Defective Class. Insane persons are sometimes cared for in local poorhouses; but the more progressive States provide separate asylums or hospitals, where patients may receive humane treatment and the best medical care. In order to prevent the confinement of persons who are not actually insane, the question of insanity must be passed upon by expert physicians, generally acting under the direction of the probate judge of the county.

The insane

Feeble-minded children are sometimes cared for in State schools. Here they are trained to become at least partly self-supporting; and they often do a large part of the work on farms maintained in connection with these schools.

Feeble-minded children

The blind and the deaf-mutes are commonly educated and cared for in State institutions. Special methods of instruction enable them to overcome, in part, the terrible handicap resulting from their physical disability; so that they often become useful and self-supporting members of society. You may have read of the wonderful attainments of Helen Keller, who, although both blind and deaf, has succeeded in obtaining a college education. Her splendid perseverance shows how nobility of soul and heroic courage can triumph over physical infirmities.

The blind and the deaf

74. **Care of the Dependent Class.** We come now to the dependent class — those who through poverty are a burden on society. This poverty may be due to misfortune: hard-working men are sometimes thrown out of work, and need temporary relief. More often it is due to disease, or drunkenness, or shiftless habits, and a desire to live at the expense of the community. The tramp who comes to your door asking for food or money, as well as his companion, the street beggar, generally belongs to this class. To give the relief asked for, without investigating to find out whether it is deserved, merely encourages these vagrants in their shiftlessness. In many cities there are charity organization societies, which investigate persons who ask for relief, and provide employment for those who are able and willing to work. But most tramps and beggars do not want work; they prefer to live at the expense of the kind-hearted but foolish persons who encourage them by indiscriminate almsgiving.

The vagrant poor

But there are other cases of actual destitution which society must relieve. For this reason there is in nearly every county an almshouse or poor-farm, which is maintained by the local government. Here those who cannot provide for themselves are supported at public expense. Sometimes the inmates are able to do considerable farm work; but more often they are so crippled or infirm or shiftless that the community bears the entire burden of their support.[1]

The almshouse or poor-farm

[1] It is estimated that nearly one half of the inmates of almshouses in the United States could work if compelled to do so.

The local overseers of the poor sometimes supply provisions, fuel, and clothing for families who are temporarily in need of assistance. This is called outdoor relief, because it is granted to destitute persons in their homes, without sending them to the almshouse. The great danger of outdoor relief is that shiftless persons soon form the habit of looking to government for help, instead of helping themselves. For this reason, outdoor relief is generally left to private charitable organizations, which are better able to investigate each case, and determine whether aid should be granted.

Outdoor relief

Many of our cities and counties maintain public institutions for homeless children. Here these little ones, who have never known what it means to have a comfortable home and kind parents, are trained and educated at public expense in order that they may become useful citizens.

Children's homes

75. Care of the Sick Poor. Each local community ordinarily employs one or more physicians to care for persons who are too poor to employ medical aid. Public dispensaries are also provided where the needy poor can obtain free medical treatment. More serious cases of illness or injury are cared for in public hospitals, maintained by the city or county; here those unable to pay receive free care and treatment.

Hospitals and dispensaries

76. Cost of Charities. The cost of public and private charities in the United States is enormous, amounting to over two hundred million dollars each year, or one fourth the cost of our public schools. It is estimated that three million persons, or three per cent of

the entire population of the country, receive some form of public or private relief. All of this expense must be borne by the productive members of society; this is why it is so important to investigate every request for aid, and grant relief only to those who deserve it.

77. Charity Organization. In nearly every large city, there are charity organization societies, private organizations which aim to secure coöperation among the various relief agencies of the city. These societies expose impostors, of whom there are many; refer applicants for relief to the charitable organization which can best provide it; find employment for those who are able and willing to work; and endeavor to ascertain and remove the causes of poverty, instead of merely relieving temporary needs.

QUESTIONS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. What provision is made in your State for the defective classes, the deaf, blind, insane, feeble-minded?
2. Make a list of the institutions and associations in your community for the care of the poor. Which of these are public and which private?
3. Where is your almshouse located? Is any attempt made to separate the different classes of inmates? Is it well managed?
4. How are the vagrant poor or tramps dealt with in your community?
5. If a street beggar should ask you for money, would you give him any? What are the arguments against promiscuous almsgiving?
6. How are dependent children cared for in your community? Is the plan a satisfactory one?
7. Does your community employ physicians to care for those too poor to afford them? Is there a free dispensary in your community?
8. Enumerate some of the principal causes of poverty. Ask local officials what causes are chiefly responsible for pauperism in your community.

CHAPTER VIII

GOVERNMENT AND INDUSTRY

78. The Production of Wealth. In future years you will probably realize more fully than you do at present that most of the activities of men are caused by the need of making a living. In this respect we are not so far removed from the primitive man who spent most of his time in obtaining food with which to sustain life. On all sides we see men engaged in hundreds of different callings, in banks and offices and stores, in field and mine and workshop. All are producers, for all are performing services which have an exchangeable value. All are engaged in the creation of wealth; that is, the production of goods which have an economic value, which are desired by society. The farmer says: "I will till the soil, raise the wheat needed to supply the markets of the world, and exchange it for the clothing, furniture, implements, and other articles that I need." The manufacturer produces clothing, shoes, or furniture, which in turn he exchanges for the food products and other commodities necessary to his existence and comfort. The merchant creates values by exchanging goods; if it were not for him, the farmer would have to leave his work, and go to the manufacturer and the clothier, for the necessaries which they produce. The day laborer receives, in return for his labor, food from

Economic activities

the farmer, shoes and clothing from the factory, and fuel from the mine.

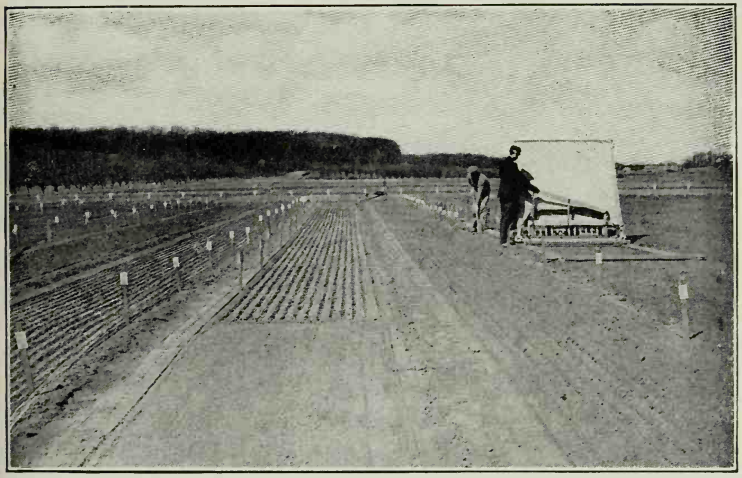
79. **How Government aids Industry.** Thus all the members of modern industrial society are dependent upon each other for their daily needs, and all are working in coöperation for the common good. All are engaged in the world's great workshop which we call industry; and the most important services which government performs are those which relate to industry, to the activities of men in making a living. For example, the national government provides the circulating medium or money for which men exchange their services; and our national government likewise carries the mails, makes river and harbor improvements, protects commerce by means of lighthouses and life-saving stations, sends consuls abroad to promote our trade with foreign countries, and grants copyrights and patents to encourage authors and inventors.

Services of the national government

Our State and local governments also perform many services in aid of industry. They build the roads and bridges necessary for the transportation of people and products; and it is to them that we look for the protection of property and contract rights, for educational facilities, and for the restriction of industries which, under certain circumstances, may threaten the public welfare.

Services of State governments

Both State and national governments aid industry by protecting the natural resources of the country in lands and forests; by legislation designed to safeguard the lives and health of laborers in mines and factories; and by laws which regulate corporations,

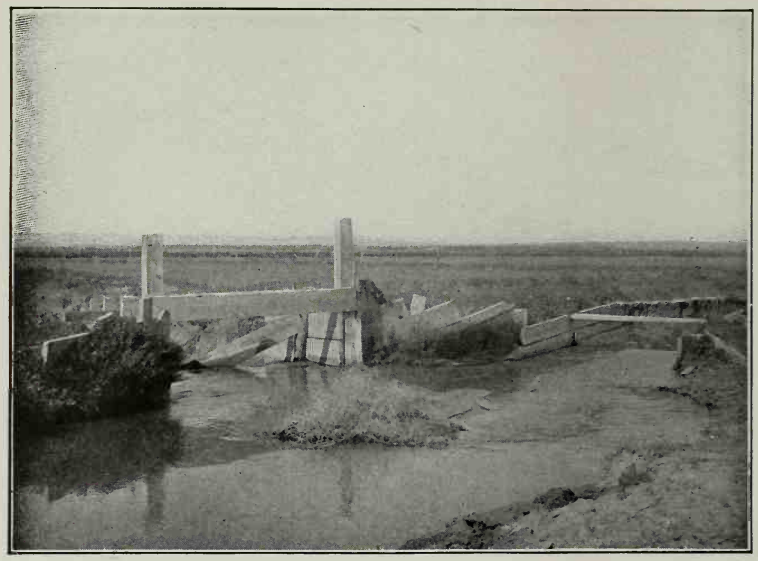


A PLANTING MACHINE AT WORK

On the farms of the experiment station of the University of Wisconsin. Observe that each plot of ground is labeled to show the source of the seed used. The investigations made at such stations serve the combined purpose of adapting methods to local conditions, and of stimulating the farmers of the surrounding country to introduce the best seeds, and new methods of tillage and the care of crops. The agricultural colleges of many States maintain stations of this sort.

THE DAIRY CAR OF THE "BETTER FARMING SPECIAL"

The "Better Farming Special" is a train equipped by the Boston and Albany Railroad with the coöperation of the Massachusetts Agricultural College. At appropriate seasons it is sent through the agricultural districts of the State, and lecturers address the farmers. There are several cars in the train, devoted to crops, forestry, and other agricultural interests. In many States similar traveling exhibits are sent out each year by the State Agricultural College.



AN EARLY ATTEMPT AT IRRIGATION

Before the National Government took up this work, methods were crude and results unsatisfactory.

Courtesy, Department of Agriculture.

PRESENT METHODS OF IRRIGATION

the capitalistic organizations which to-day control the larger part of our manufactures and commerce.

80. **Why Government aids Agriculture.** The boys who live on our farms have at least one advantage over city boys — each year they have a chance to win a trip to Washington at the expense of Uncle Sam. They may win this prize by raising more corn on an acre of land than is raised by the other boys who compete in the annual corn-raising contest carried on by our national government. The successful boys also have the distinction of seeing their names published in the list of youthful farmers who have raised a larger corn crop than that secured by other boys, — often larger, indeed, than their own fathers can raise.

Corn-raising contest

Why does our national government encourage this competition in corn-raising? The fathers of these boys now raise more corn and more wheat than any other farmers in the world; so that the United States holds first place as an agricultural country, producing the largest part of the world's supply of breadstuffs, meat products, raw cotton, lumber, and Indian corn. But among the 51,000,000 people who comprise our rural population, there are many farmers who are ignorant of the best methods of production. These men do not sow the best seed, or cultivate their fields properly; perhaps they do not appreciate the necessity of rotating crops and applying fertilizers to the soil, in order to secure the largest returns. Hence our national and State governments endeavor in every possible way to educate farmers and their sons in scientific methods of agriculture. In

Importance of scientific agriculture

other words, we cannot afford to rely solely on our fertile soil and broad valleys in order to retain our rank as the foremost agricultural country in the world. We must have men trained to make the most of these natural advantages by adding to them intelligent labor and intelligent methods.

81. How Government promotes Better Farming. This corn-raising contest is only one of the many means by which government encourages better agricultural methods. In nearly every State there is an experiment station, generally connected with the State's agricultural college, which carries on experiments in order to determine which crops and methods of cultivation are best for the farmers of each locality. At these stations, new varieties of cereals are originated, and old ones improved; model farms are maintained, which furnish instructive examples to the farmers of the State, and serve as laboratories for the education of thousands of young men in scientific agriculture.

Agricultural experiment stations

By means of bulletins and reports sent out to the farmers of the State, these institutions render a still broader service; for example, Wisconsin's high rank as a dairying State is due largely to the enterprise of the agricultural department of her State University. For those who desire information on farm problems, but who are unable to leave their work, Cornell and several other universities carry on reading courses for farmers and their wives. Practical lessons are published each month; questions are answered by mail, and individual instruction and advice given.

Agricultural extension work

Some agricultural colleges send out special trains, known as "better farming specials," one car being devoted to a dairying exhibit, another to crops, another to forestry, and so on. These trains are sent through the agricultural districts, and expert practical farmers are employed to accompany them and give lectures.

Better farming specials

82. Irrigation Work of the National Government. Irrigation is another important aid to agriculture, especially in the arid lands of the West and Southwest. By the construction of irrigation dams and reservoirs, the federal government has transformed millions of acres of desert land into fertile farms. These lands are sold to settlers upon small annual payments which will ultimately cover the cost of constructing the irrigation works. Within the last twenty years, the amount of land irrigated in the United States has been increased from three million to more than thirteen million acres. These great irrigation projects have cost over $110,000,000, but this cost is small in comparison with the values created by transforming desert wastes into fertile farms.

Reclaiming arid lands

83. The Destruction of Our Forests. In your study of American history, you have learned that our country was originally covered with vast forests. From the valuable storehouse thus provided by nature, the settlers drew materials for houses, schools, churches, ships, furniture, and fuel. Unfortunately, the descendants of those settlers have acted as if the storehouse could never be exhausted. Our great forest areas were ruthlessly stripped of trees by owners who cared only to make money as fast as

possible. Young trees which should have been spared were taken for telegraph poles or railroad ties, and no effort was made to replace them by planting. Terrible forest fires which swept away millions of dollars worth of valuable timber continued the work of destruction.

84. The Establishment of Forest Reserves. At last we began to realize that the destruction of our forests meant even more than the loss of our timber supply. The fertility and productiveness of our farms were seriously threatened, for forests preserve the rainfall and make it regular. They also protect the headwaters of our great rivers, thus securing a uniform flow throughout the year, and providing water for irrigation and for carrying lumber and other produce to market. Finally, in 1908, President Roosevelt invited the governors of all the States and territories to meet and discuss the conservation of our natural resources in forests, land, water, and minerals.

As a step toward this policy of conservation, the national government has set aside a vast area of over 280,000 square miles known as the "forest reserves." These reserves, in extent as large as the States of California and New Mexico taken together, are to be held in trust by the government for the welfare of the entire country. The reserves are located so as to protect the headwaters of our great rivers; and they are guarded by men called forest rangers or foresters. These men ride through the forests on horseback, on the lookout for fires and timber thieves. A large amount of timber is sold each year from the reserves; but government officials de-

Protecting the forest reserves

termine what trees may be cut. New trees are planted in place of those cut down, so that the supply shall not become exhausted.

Many of the States have likewise set aside large tracts of forest reserves. These are managed in the same way as the national reserves, and are guarded by forest rangers. About one half of the States have forest commissioners, charged with the care of the State's forests.

85. The Improvement of Highways. One writer has said that the civilization of a country can be measured by the excellence of its roads. Undoubtedly the improvement of highways is one of the most important means whereby government aids industry; for each year the products hauled over our roads exceed in value all the freight carried by all the railroads of the country.

The construction of wagon roads was begun in colonial times; these were dirt roads, or corduroy roads where swamps were to be crossed (constructed by felling trees and laying the trunks side by side). With the advent of the sawmill came the plank roads; and these were followed by the pikes, or roads covered with broken stone. Next came the macadamized road, the most approved method of modern road-building. The macadamized road derives its name from John Macadam, a Scotch engineer who originated this method of construction. It consists of a foundation of large crushed stones, on top of which are placed additional layers of smaller stones. Each layer, after being moistened, is repeatedly rolled with a steam roller. A top layer of asphalt or pitch is com-

monly used as a binding material, and the result is a smooth, hard, and durable wearing surface.

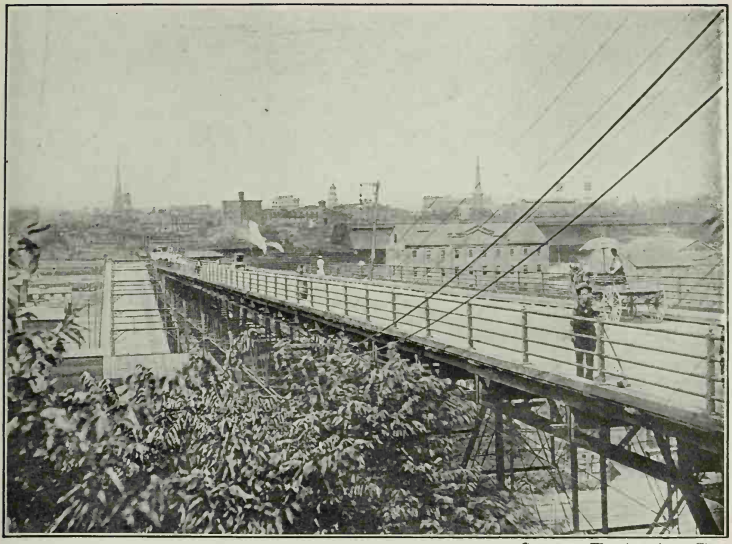
A function of local government

As a rule, the construction of roads is a function of local government, generally entrusted to the county or township commissioners. The cost of improvement is borne, at least in part, by the property owners along the road.[1] In times past it has been customary to permit farmers to work out their road tax by giving several days' labor with their teams, instead of paying the tax in money. Poor roads have often resulted from this haphazard method of construction; so that more progressive communities now have their roads built under the supervision of skilled engineers, who make use of modern methods and machinery. Our roadmaking has improved during the last twenty years, but our roads are still inferior to the splendid highways built by the progressive countries of Europe.

Street pavements

In the cities, the large amount of heavy traffic makes the question of street pavement a most important one. The principal materials used for street pavements are macadam, granite and Belgian blocks, wooden blocks, bricks, and asphalt (sheet and blocks). No single material is best in all respects, and ordinarily the choice is largely influenced by the question of cost. The cost of street improvements, including paving and sewers, is generally assessed upon the adjoining property owners.

[1] In a number of commonwealths the State aids the local community by bearing a certain proportion of the expense of improving highways. In many Southern States, convict labor is being utilized for the purpose of improving highways, the work being carried on under the direction of government officials.



Courtesy, The American City

THE ORIGINAL MULBERRY STREET BRIDGE, HARRISBURG, PA.

The result of that city's first campaign for a municipal improvement.

Courtesy, The American City

THE PRESENT MULBERRY STREET VIADUCT

An imposing structure of reinforced concrete has replaced the old bridge of iron and wood

Courtesy, The Forest Service, Washington, D. C.

THE RESULT OF SCIENTIFIC FORESTRY

These hills have been reclothed with trees, although during many years after a lumber company had worked this section they had been left denuded and neglected.

THE WORK OF A FRESHET

One result of the destruction of forests; for without trees on the hills, the streams are liable to swell rapidly during the spring. Once overflowing their banks, they can do great damage.

86. Waterways. Nearly all the canals in the country have been constructed by the State governments, or by companies chartered by them. The period of canal construction dates from 1825 (when the Erie Canal was completed) to about 1840, at which time attention was diverted to railroad building. The construction of canals contributed greatly to the early development of the commonwealths in which they were located, as for some time their competition served as a check upon railroad rates; but with few exceptions they have now been abandoned, the railway having proved too formidable a competitor.[1]

87. The Factors in Production. The promotion of better agricultural methods, the conservation of our forests, the improvement of roads and waterways, — these services of government all relate to land, one of the three factors in production. There are two other important factors, namely, labor and capital; and we shall now consider the services which government performs in relation to each of these agents.

Land, labor, capital

You will learn in your later study that most of our manufactured products are made in large factories, by means of machinery; and that this method of production involves many far-reaching consequences. Production on a large scale,

Large scale production

[1] Since 1850 the only important canals constructed are the Illinois and Mississippi, and the Chicago Sanitary and Ship Canal; but large sums have been spent in improving the Erie Canal. In all there are forty-two hundred miles of canals in the United States, located in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Virginia, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan; but many of these have fallen into disuse. Besides those mentioned, the other principal canals are the Illinois and Michigan, the Chesapeake and Ohio, the Wabash and Erie, and the Sault Sainte Marie.

by means of machinery, has taken industry out of the home into immense workshops called factories; it has led to the growth of great cities; it has brought about the organization of large corporations to furnish the capital necessary for these colossal industrial enterprises; and it has drawn a sharp line of division between the employing class, and the laborers or men who are employed.

88. Labor and Factory Laws. Nearly one fourth of all the people in the United States are employed by others, many of them in hazardous occupations. To protect these workers, the State governments have passed measures known as factory laws, which are enforced by inspectors who travel over the State, visiting and inspecting factories and mercantile establishments.

Factory legislation has three principal objects: (1) The protection of the health of employees, by securing proper ventilation, heating, lighting, and good sanitary conditions generally.

Object

(2) The prevention of accidents, by requiring guards on dangerous machinery, elevators, and hoistways; also by requiring the inspection of boilers, and the construction of suitable exits and fire-escapes. (3) The regulation of the conditions of employment, especially in the case of women and children, by restricting the hours of labor, prescribing intervals of rest during the working-day, prohibiting night work, and fixing a minimum age limit for the employment of children — usually fourteen years.

Many commonwealths have provided that eight hours shall constitute a day's work for all laborers

employed by the State or local governments. In private industry, the hours of labor have been reduced from twelve or fourteen hours in the early part of the nineteenth century to eight or nine at the present time; and one of the principal aims of labor unions is to secure universal acceptance of the eight-hour day.

The eight-hour day

To aid in the settlement of industrial disputes, many States have established boards of arbitration. These generally consist of three or five members appointed by the governor, employers and employees being equally represented. When strikes or lock-outs occur, it is the duty of these boards to investigate the situation, and if possible to bring about an amicable settlement. They may arbitrate the controversy, providing both parties consent. The federal Department of Labor may also investigate the causes of controversies between employers and employees, and recommend a settlement. In this way President Wilson put an end to the coal strike of 1918.

Arbitration of labor disputes

89. **Characteristics and Development of Corporations.** Capital is the third great agency in the production of wealth. Perhaps the most important economic function of State governments is exercised through the power to create and regulate corporations, the capitalistic organizations which control the greater part of the commerce and manufactures of the country. A corporation may be defined as a legal person, distinct from the members who comprise it, having a special name, and the capacity of acting for various purposes as a single individual.

Characteristics

The private corporation is of ancient origin, but its remarkable development in the nineteenth century may be traced to the industrial revolution of the eighteenth. That revolution was characterized by the change from hand to machine labor, from production on a small scale to the factory system. The partnership was at first employed as a means of obtaining the larger capital demanded by the new industrial methods; and this continued the common form of business association until the middle of the nineteenth century. But even the partnership was inadequate for the colossal industrial development of the age of steam and electricity; and hence about the middle of the nineteenth century, the corporation came into general use for larger industrial enterprises.

Development

90. **Organization and Control of Corporations.** In order to form a corporation, a number of men, generally five or more, apply to the State government for a charter; that is, for permission to organize a corporation. The application must state the names of the incorporators, the amount of the capital stock, and the purpose for which the corporation is formed. If the secretary of State finds that the application is in due legal form, he issues a charter authorizing the corporation to do business.

Method of organization

The capital of the corporation is fixed at a certain amount, divided into a number of small shares, usually fifty or a hundred dollars each, which are sold to different individuals. Each person who purchases a share thereby becomes a stockholder in the corporation, and is entitled to vote for

Stockholders

members of the board of directors, who manage the corporation's business.

Corporations are commonly required to make an annual report to the secretary of State, setting forth the amount of their capital stock, volume of business done, and the indebtedness. They must also pay taxes, and submit to such regulations as the State legislature may find necessary.

Control of corporations

91. Trusts and Industrial Combinations. Within recent years large corporations have united to form what are called trusts. The trust or industrial combination has an immense capital, and generally aims to produce commodities on so large a scale that it will be enabled to control the market. Both the State and national governments have passed laws designed to control these large combinations, for their methods have often been unfair toward other producers, as well as to the consumers who use their products. For example, in earlier times the Standard Oil Company managed to secure from the railroads lower rates for shipping oil than were granted to its competitors; and through its control of the market, it was able to fix the price to the consumer.

Necessity of government regulation

92. Regulation of Banks and Insurance Companies. Certain classes of corporations, such as banks, insurance companies, and railroads, come into the closest relations with the people, so that the management of these corporations is a matter of vital public concern. For example, the whole community is interested in the management of its banks. If a bank fails on account of dishonest or unwise manage-

Banks

ment, the loss falls not on the depositors alone, but on the entire community; for the effect of a bank failure is to discourage habits of saving among the people.

Likewise it is of the utmost importance that insurance companies be managed on sound financial principles; for the man who takes out an insurance policy generally does so for the benefit of his wife and children, or for others dependent on him for support. In order to protect the policy holders and the public generally, most States have passed laws regulating the management of insurance companies; and State inspectors are appointed to see that these laws are properly enforced.

Insurance companies

93. **Regulation of Railroads.** The railroad business is likewise of vital public interest. It is of the highest importance that fair and uniform freight rates shall be charged to all shippers, for otherwise the prosperity of a community may be checked or destroyed. Hence, many States have established boards of railway commissioners, charged with the duty of protecting the public and the shippers. Laws have been passed designed to prevent discriminating rates and unreasonable charges.

State railway commissioners

State regulations concerning railroads apply only to the traffic wholly within the boundaries of the individual commonwealth. The railroads now derive most of their revenue from traffic between different States, called interstate traffic; and this can be controlled only by the federal government. This control is exercised by means of the Interstate Commerce Commission, which has gen-

Regulation of interstate traffic

eral supervision over railways engaged in interstate traffic.

QUESTIONS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. What public lands are now owned by your State? Have any steps been taken toward forest preservation?
2. Explain the object of fish and game laws. Who enforces these measures in your commonwealth?
3. What restrictions does your State government place upon the labor of women and children?
4. What is meant by a strike? Lock-out? Boycott? Picketing?
5. Explain how a strike affects many more people than the employer and employees in the particular industry.
6. Is there a State board of arbitration in your commonwealth? How is it composed? Has it been successful in settling industrial disputes?
7. What are the common hours of labor in the various industries in your State? What are the chief arguments in favor of an eight-hour day as compared with one of ten or twelve hours?
8. Is there a free public employment office in your community? What work does it perform?
9. Prepare a report showing (*a*) the wastes of excessive competition, and (*b*) the advantages of large-scale production. (Jenks, J. W., *The Trust Problem.*)
10. Name several partnerships in your community; several corporations. Name five of the largest industrial combinations (commonly called trusts) in the United States.
11. Who has charge of roadmaking in your commonwealth? Does the State supervise road construction or bear part of the cost?
12. Are there any canals in your State? What officers have charge of them? When were they constructed? What was the cost of maintenance last year?
13. What are the requirements for an employment certificate in your State?
14. In your State are workers in industry insured against accident or injury while at work?
15. Is life insurance a good thing for a man with a family?

CHAPTER IX

TOWN AND COUNTY GOVERNMENT

94. The Work of Local Governments. In preceding chapters we have studied the work performed by our State and local governments. We have seen that such important duties as the protection of the people, public education, and the building of roads and bridges, are entrusted chiefly to local governments, although the State government coöperates in the work, and supervises the way in which it is carried on. We should bear in mind that these local governments (towns, counties, villages, and cities) are merely subdivisions of the State, created for the performance of this work. Just as a manufacturing concern employs men to carry on its business, directing and controlling them as the manager sees fit, so the State government creates these local units as its agent, and may regulate and control them in the performance of their work.

Relation to State government

95. Classification of Local Governments. Local governments are of two kinds, rural and urban. Rural local governments include towns or townships, and counties; urban governments comprise cities and villages. Rural and urban governments perform many similar duties, such as maintaining order and providing education; but you will readily see that where population is massed in cities, there are many additional duties for the city governments

Rural and urban

to perform. Suppose you try to think of several things done by city governments which are not necessary in the case of rural communities.

96. Three Types of Rural Local Government. Of rural local governments there are three different types in the United States. In one section of the Union, the town performs most of the work of local government; in another, the county; while in a third, the business of local government is about equally divided between the two areas. Hence the three types of rural local government are called: (1) town government, (2) county government, and (3) the township-county, or compromise type. If a map of the United States were to be marked off into three sections, you would readily see where each type prevails. You would find the town system in the six New England States; the county system in the South and the Far West; and the compromise type in the Middle and North Central States. Let us now trace the historical origin of each of these types of local government.

Town, county, and compromise types

97. Establishment of Towns in New England. As you have learned in your study of history, the colonists who first settled New England came as church congregations, each headed by its minister. Hence they naturally wished to have their homes near together, so that all might worship at the common church. Then, too, the Indian tribes of New England were hostile, and the colonists could defend a compact community more readily than a widely scattered population. Frequently each little town was surrounded by a stockade, and provided with a block-

Colonial conditions

house in which all might take refuge in case of a sudden attack.

Meaning of "town"

The "town" included not only the group of dwellings within the stockade, but also the outlying fields cultivated by the colonists. So we must remember that the word "town" as used in New England denotes not a small village, but a district with an area of from twenty to forty square miles.

Town government

The government of the town was then, as it is today, a pure democracy; that is, the laws were made by the people themselves, instead of through their representatives. All the men of the town met in town-meeting for the discussion of matters of common concern, such as the defense of the community, the construction of roads, the support of the school, and the care of the poor. On these and many other matters, the town-meeting passed laws called "by-laws";[1] it also levied taxes, and elected the town officers.

98. County Government at the South. Very different were the conditions in the Southern colonies.

Conditions at the South

The men who came to Virginia did not come as church congregations seeking a land where they might worship freely; the first settlers, especially, came in the hope of finding gold. The soil at the South was very fertile; and the slave system tended to create large plantations. The houses of the planters were miles apart, so that it was impracticable for them to meet in town-meeting, as did the New England colonists.

Hence the planters at the South adopted a system

[1] From the Danish word *by* which means *town*.

of county government similar to that which prevailed in England. The Southern colony was divided into a number of counties, each governed by a county court. This body was composed of eight justices, appointed by the governor of the colony. Thus local government at the South was much less democratic than in New England, where the people met in town-meeting to pass their own laws and choose their own local officials. Jefferson, himself a Virginian, praised the democratic government of the New England towns, and declared it an ideal plan of local self-government.

County government

99. Township-County System of Local Government. The Middle Colonies were situated between New England and the South, and hence they borrowed some features of their local government from each section. From New England they took the township; from the South, the county. The functions of local government were divided between these two areas; hence this is called the township-county, or compromise type, of local government.

A compromise plan

The system of local government in the Middle Colonies was adopted many years later by the men who moved west to settle the Mississippi Valley. As a result, this township-county system now prevails throughout the great group of States extending from New York to Nebraska, which together include more than half the population of the country. It is thus our most representative type of local government.

Adopted in the Middle West

100. Town Government at Present. The most important feature of New England's present system

of town government is the town-meeting, held regularly once each year in the town hall. Special meetings are called from time to time, as needed. The town-meeting regulates practically all local affairs, including taxes, schools, poor relief, highways, police, and public health. All voters may attend, take part in the discussion, and vote upon all questions. By enlisting the individual citizen in the discussion and management of public affairs, the town-meeting affords a valuable school of political training.

The town-meeting

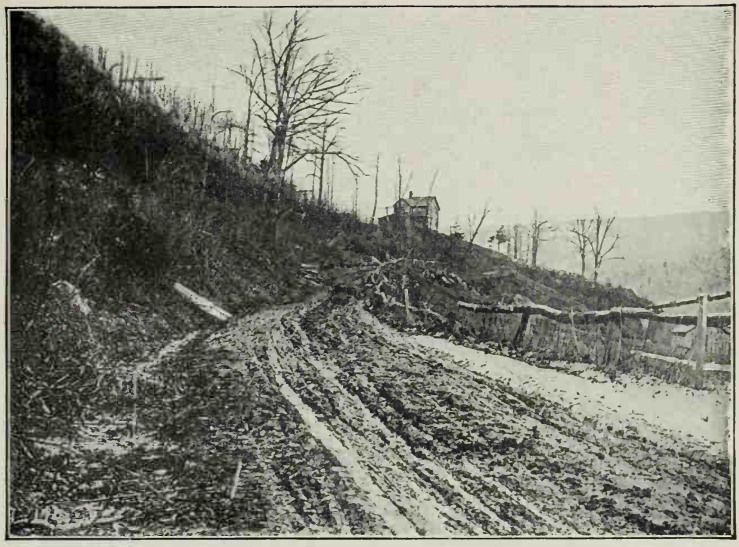
The town-meeting also elects the town officers. The most important of these are the selectmen, an executive board of from three to nine members, who exercise a general supervision over town affairs. Other officers are the clerk, who keeps the records, issues marriage licenses, and registers vital statistics; the treasurer, the collector of taxes, the school committee, assessors, constables, highway officers, library and cemetery trustees, and overseers of the poor.

Town officers

101. County Government at Present. All the States of the Union are subdivided into counties,[1] but, as we have learned, the functions performed by the county vary widely in different parts of the Union. In New England the county has few powers, the town being the important unit. At the South and in the Far West, on the other hand, the county performs most of the work of local government. In the States of the Middle West, it divides this work with the township.

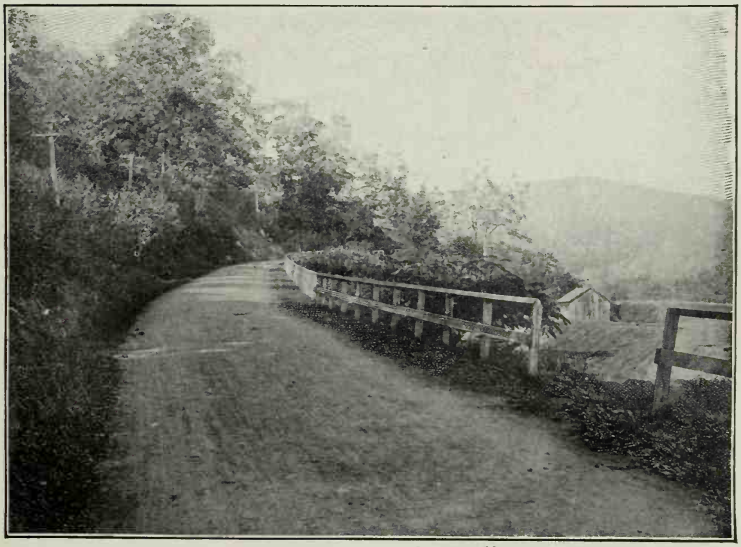
Work of county government

[1] In Louisiana the division corresponding to the *county* is called a *parish*.



AN OLD-FASHIONED COUNTRY ROAD

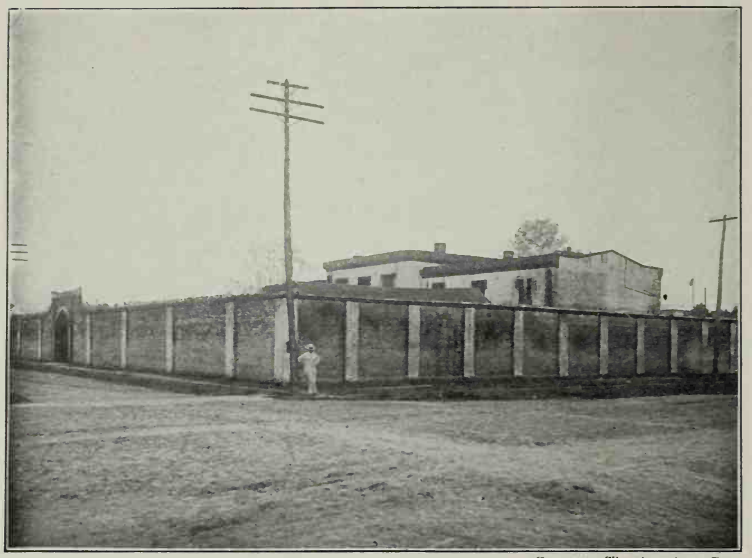
Crudely built, unskillfully cared for, and, in stormy seasons, well-nigh impassable.



Courtesy, Massachusetts Highway Commission.

THE SAME ROAD RECONSTRUCTED AND MAINTAINED BY THE STATE

Modern methods give good roads at all seasons.



Courtesy, The American City.

THE OLD COUNTY JAIL AT MOBILE, ALA.

Courtesy, The American City.

THE NEW MOBILE COUNTY COURT HOUSE

This dignified building accommodates the jail and the sheriff's office, and also the offices of the County Court and the County Assessor and Collector.

The most important officers are the members of the county board of commissioners or supervisors, elected by the voters, and entrusted with general supervision over county affairs. This board constructs bridges and highways, looks after the poor, maintains the jail and other county buildings, divides the county into school and road districts, and levies county taxes.

County commissioners or supervisors

Other important officers are the sheriff, who is the chief executive officer of the county court, charged with the general preservation of law and order throughout the county. A prosecuting attorney conducts criminal prosecutions, and represents the county in civil suits. Cases of violent or mysterious death are investigated by the coroner, usually with the aid of a jury. Public records are kept by the county clerk; and deeds and mortgages are made a matter of public record by the recorder. The treasurer and auditor have charge of the collection and expenditure of public funds; and a county superintendent supervises the work of the schools. As a rule, all of these officers are elected by the voters, for terms varying from two to four years.

Other county officers

102. **Township-County Government.** Under the township-county plan, the powers of local government are divided between county and township. In general, the same county officers are elected as under the county system; but each county is subdivided into a number of smaller townships. These have charge of such affairs as the maintenance of schools, the construction of roads, and the care of the poor.

Division of powers

General oversight over township business is exercised by the township trustees, who correspond to the selectmen of the New England town. Other township officers are the clerk, who keeps the records; the treasurer, who is also tax collector; justices of the peace, who try minor cases; tax assessors, constables, school trustees, and overseers of the poor.

Township officers

The present tendency is to give the county larger powers over such local affairs as the schools and road building. The townships are too small to carry on this work in the most efficient way; hence county governments exercise more supervision than formerly over township administration.

County supervision

QUESTIONS FOR INVESTIGATION

(*Questions 1–7 are for pupils living in New England*)

1. How many towns in your State? What is the population of the largest? Of the smallest?
2. Does town government in New England tend to decrease in importance?
3. How many representatives has your town in the legislature? Has this apportionment been made in accordance with the population of the town?
4. Prepare an account of a town-meeting, discussing the following topics: (*a*) how composed; (*b*) method of calling same; (*c*) how conducted; (*d*) functions, including election of town officers, making of appropriations, enactment of by-laws.
5. Organize the class into a town-meeting, and discuss live local questions in accordance with articles in a warrant.
6. Describe the board of selectmen in your town, giving their names, term, and functions.
7. Give the same facts concerning the other executive officers of your town.

(*Questions 8-13 are for pupils living in the Central and Middle Western States*)

8. How many townships in your county? Name them.

9. If there is a township board, give the number of members, term, and functions.
10. If supervisory authority is vested in a single officer, give his title, term, and powers.
11. If there is a town-meeting, answer question 4, above.
12. Give the names, term, and functions of other township officers.
13. How are justices of the peace chosen? What cases are tried before them?

(*Questions 14, 15 are for pupils in the South and Far West*)

14. What is the name of the subdivision of the county corresponding to the township in the Central States?
15. Give the names, method of selection, and functions of the officers chosen within this area.

(*The remaining questions are for pupils in all sections*)

16. Draw an outline map of your State, and mark with different colors the boundaries of the county in which you live, and also the boundaries of the townships (or towns) within your county.
17. Give the area and population of your county.
18. How many counties are there in your State? Name the five counties having the largest population at the last census. Name the five counties having the largest area.
19. What is the county seat of your county? Is it centrally located? Is it the largest city in the county?
20. Visit your courthouse and other county buildings, note the uses to which they are put, and prepare a class report upon any facts thus learned.
21. What is the area of your town or township? Its population?
22. Which of the following functions pertaining to local needs are performed by your county? (*a*) Levy and collection of local taxes; (*b*) administration or supervision of schools; (*c*) construction and maintenance of local public works; (*d*) administration of charities and corrections; (*e*) holding of local elections; (*f*) enactment of local police regulations.
23. Are your roads laid out and maintained by the county or township? What amount was expended for this purpose last year? Are the roads well improved and cared for? Should the State aid in roadmaking?
24. Who is the sheriff of your county? How chosen? Term? Authority?
25. Other judicial officers of the county generally include a coro-

ner, prosecuting attorney, and clerk of the court. Give the names, method of selection, term, salary, and duties of each.

26. Give the method of choosing, term, and duties of each of the following officers (if found in your county): clerk or auditor, treasurer, recorder or register of deeds, surveyor, assessor.
27. Are your county officers paid by fees or salaries? By whom is the remuneration determined? Which are the most lucrative offices?
28. Prepare a map showing your township outline, school district, and your village. Have these units different boundaries? Look up the local history of these three and see why they are not identical.
29. Make a list of the officers in each, with their names arranged under headings of law-making, law-enforcing, law-interpreting and applying.
30. Do any of these have authority in more than one unit?
31. What officers are found in the village that are not necessary in the town? Why?
32. Prepare a list of duties of three of these officials that you are familiar with or can become acquainted with.
33. Prepare a list of improvements in one of these units.
34. Show how you and your class may help to bring these about.
35. Prepare a three-minute talk on one needed public improvement.
36. Suppose your class to be the village board, or town board, sitting in a "hearing" on a public request. Present an argument for and against the granting of this request.
37. What is a deed? A mortgage? If your home is owned by your family find out where the deed is recorded, and why.
38. What is meant by "assessed value" of property? by "tax rate"? How is this rate determined?

CHAPTER X

THE GOVERNMENT OF CITIES

103. Position of the City in History. In your later study you will learn how largely history has been influenced by the great cities of the world — Athens, Sparta, Rome, Naples, Paris, London, and Berlin. You will find that such ancient cities as Athens and Rome were all-powerful, that they governed the surrounding territory as well as the area within the city walls, and were indeed the seats of mighty empires. You will learn that from early times, cities were the cradle of liberty; that during the oppression and despotism of the Middle Ages, only the men living within the strong walls of the city were able to maintain their liberties, while the inhabitants of the surrounding country were the serfs of some feudal lord. You may read much of the history of the old world in its cities, with their temples, and statues, and cathedrals, and other monuments of a past civilization.

Cities the home of liberty

104. The Life and Individuality of the City. Our American cities are indeed less picturesque than the older cities of Europe, but they too are more than mere crowds of people who choose to live together. Like the great cities of Europe, they have a life and an individuality of their own. We who live in a city form a part of that life; by our thoughts and deeds, we help make the city's

Influences which affect the city's life

life what it is. Is a city orderly, well-governed, progressive? Are its streets clean and well-paved? Are the city officials honest and efficient? Are the people proud of their public buildings and their schools? Are the homes of the city attractive, the yards well-kept, and adorned with trees and flowers? Then you may be sure that the people of that city are law-abiding, considerate of the rights of others, intelligent and prosperous; for the city's life reflects the lives of the people who dwell within its limits. So each of us has the power to help make his city the ideal place in which we should all like to live.

105. Remarkable Growth of American Cities. The rapid growth of cities in the United States is one of the most striking facts in our history. In 1790 only about three per cent of the population lived in cities; to-day nearly one half of our people are city residents.[1] In 1790 there were only six cities with over 10,000 population; now there are 603 such cities. At the outbreak of the Revolution, Philadelphia was the largest city, with about 30,000 people; the last census gave greater New York a population of 5,620,048, and sixty-seven other cities a population of over 100,000. During the decade from 1910 to 1920, the urban population of the United States increased nine times as fast as the rural population.[2]

This remarkable increase in urban population has been due largely to the development of great manufacturing industries, which employ thousands of work-

[1] The last census shows an urban population of 54,304,603, or 51.3 per cent of the entire population.

[2] Urban population increased 28.7 per cent; rural population, 3.2 per cent.

men. In addition to large numbers of native laborers, these industries attract to the United States a vast army of immigrants, many of whom obtain employment in the cities, and thus greatly increase the population of our industrial centers. Then, too, great numbers of people are attracted from the country to the city on account of the larger business opportunities which city life seems to promise; while many others come because of the educational and social advantages of city life.

Causes of urban growth

106. **Problems confronting our Cities.** Many serious problems have resulted from this wonderful growth of our cities. First, there is the question of providing school accommodations for the rapidly increasing number of city children. In our large industrial cities, the problem of education is rendered more difficult by the arrival each year of thousands of illiterate immigrants, whose children must be transformed through the public school system into intelligent and loyal American citizens.

The educational problem

Then, especially in larger cities, there is a serious housing problem. In great centers of population like New York and Philadelphia, a thousand people sometimes dwell in a single city block, and there are hundreds of families each living in a single room. This congestion of population in the tenements invites disease, and is a constant menace to the health and morals of the entire city. Hence the question of regulating tenements, and indeed the whole problem of protecting the city's health, becomes a matter of vital public concern.

Tenements and the public health

Another difficult municipal question is that of trans-

portation. Our rapidly growing cities require enlarged transportation facilities, in order that the thousands of toilers may be able to reach their work with the least possible loss of time.

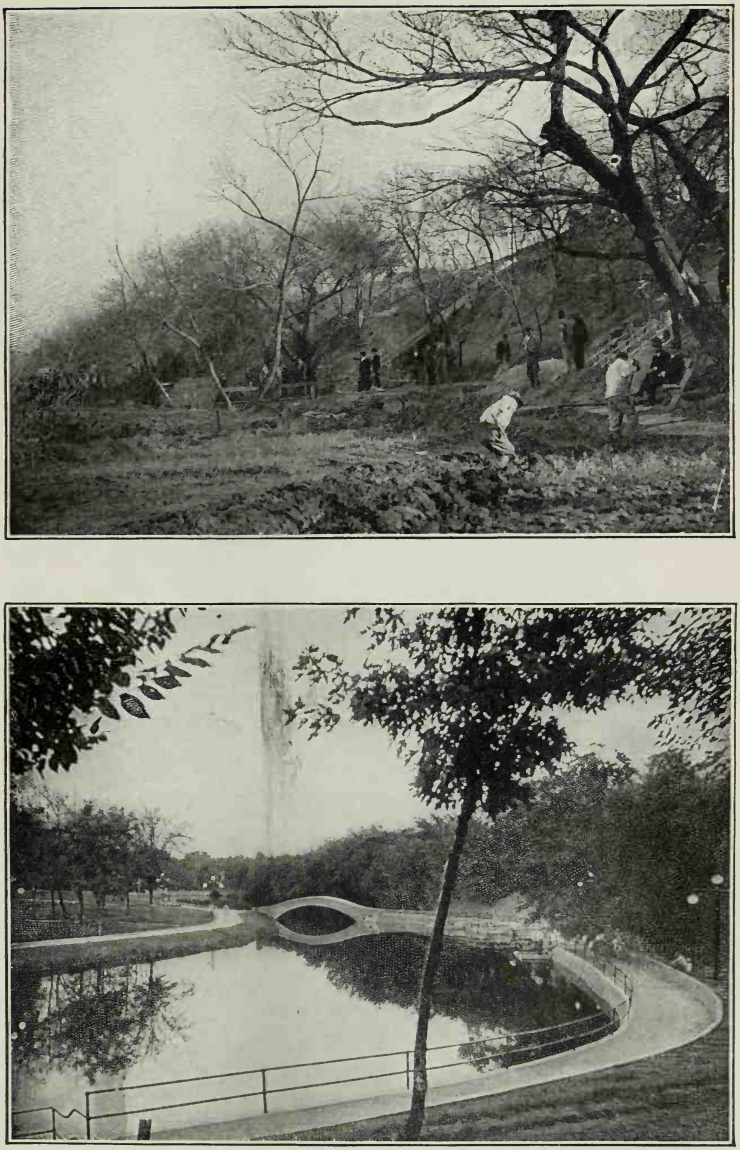
Transportation

Other difficulties arise from the rapid growth of cities to a size not anticipated when the city was founded. The lack of adequate provision for parks and public squares, the failure to provide wide business streets and boulevards, and to reserve land for public buildings, often necessitates reconstructing certain portions of the city at an enormous public expense.

Rebuilding the city

107. Our Most Serious Municipal Problem. The solution of these, and many other municipal problems, is complicated by the fact that city residents are not acquainted with one another, as in the country. Even candidates for the ward offices are often unknown to the great majority of voters within the ward; and too often voters blindly cast a partisan ballot, regardless of the merits of the candidates. So numerous are the officials, and so complicated the question of responsibility for results, that voters cannot readily detect extravagance and mismanagement of the city's business. Hence, although our municipal governments spend more money in proportion to population than either the State or national governments, city residents often become indifferent concerning the management of public affairs. Frequently they permit professional politicians to run the government of the city to please themselves. If this management becomes very inefficient and corrupt, the voters may arouse themselves

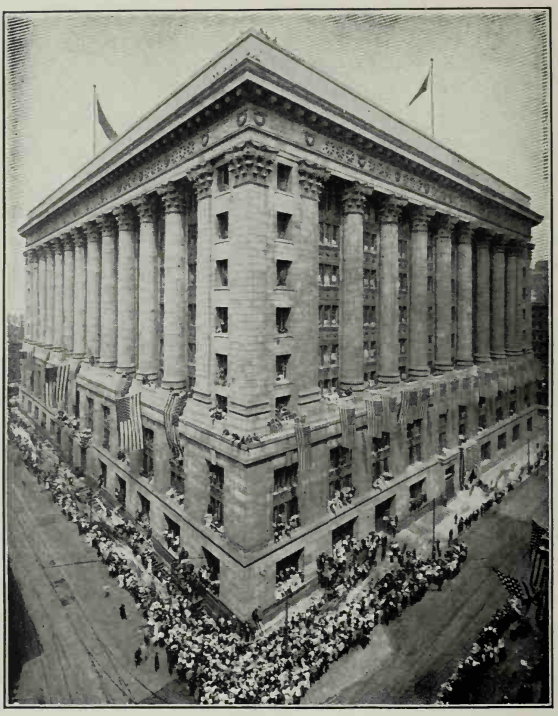
Indifference of citizens concerning city government



Courtesy, S. H. Allen, Supervisor of Parks, Enid, Okla.

"BEFORE" AND "AFTER" THE PARK WAS BUILT

Showing how a useless piece of woodland was made into a most attractive spot.



THE CITY HALL AND COOK COUNTY COURT HOUSE AT CHICAGO

THE CITY HALL AT PORTLAND, MAINE

for the time being, and through a temporary "reform movement" wrest control of the city from the hands of the politicians. Then the voters usually go to sleep again, and the former managers of the city's affairs quietly resume control.

These are some of the reasons why the question of city government is to-day the most difficult, as well as the most important, of all our government problems.

108. Incorporation and Charters. Like counties and townships, cities receive their right of self-government from the State. This is granted in the form of a charter, defining the city's rights and powers. On receiving its charter, the city is said to be incorporated; that is, it has become a municipal corporation.

Cities controlled by the State

Frequently the State legislature passes new laws changing the terms of this charter, often without regard to the wishes of the people of the city. This interference on the part of the State legislature tends to destroy local self-government, and is one of the chief obstacles to municipal progress. Hence a majority of the State constitutions now prohibit the legislature from passing laws which apply to a single city; in other words, all laws concerning cities must be general, and apply to all cities in the State.

State interference in city affairs

Several States[1] have gone still farther in endeavoring to assure self-government to their cities. These commonwealths permit cities to frame

Home rule for cities

[1] Including California, Colorado, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Ohio, Oregon, Oklahoma, and Washington.

and amend their own charters, providing these are not inconsistent with the general laws of the State.

109. The Three Departments of City Government. Except in those cities that have adopted the commission plan, the form of municipal government is in general like that of the States and of the nation. There is a legislative department, the city council; an executive department, consisting of the mayor and the administrative officers; and a judicial department, comprising the municipal and police courts.

Legislative, executive, and judicial branches

110. The City Council. Legislative authority is vested in a city council, generally a body of from five to thirty members. In three fourths of the cities, the council consists of a single chamber; in others there is an upper and a lower branch, as in the State legislature.

Composition

Members of the council are sometimes elected by the voters of the entire city, each voter casting his ballot for all the members. More commonly the city is divided into wards, each of which is represented by one or more councilmen; so that the voter helps select only the representative from his own ward. The term of councilmen is short, generally one or two years. Members either serve without compensation, or receive only a small salary.

Election and term

111. How the City Council transacts Business. Regular meetings of the council are held every week, or once in two weeks, special meetings being called as needed. Like Congress and the State legislatures, the city council is divided into committees for the consideration of business. For

The committee system

example, there is a committee on streets and sidewalks, one on sewers, a committee on markets, a finance committee, and so on.

Measures introduced into the council are referred to the appropriate committee; if the committee approves the proposed *ordinance*, it makes a favorable report to the council, whereupon the measure is voted upon by that body. If approved by a majority of the council, the act is signed by the presiding officer; and unless the mayor has the veto power, it thereupon becomes an ordinance or by-law, binding upon all persons within the city.

Passing ordinances

Frequently the city charter gives the mayor power to disapprove any measure passed by the council. If the mayor disapproves or vetoes the act, it does not become effective unless the council again passes it, this time by a two-thirds or three-fourths vote of all members.

The mayor's veto

112. **Financial Powers of the City Council.** The most important powers of the council relate to the city's finances, and include the power to levy taxes, to make appropriations, and to borrow money by issuing bonds. Estimates of the amount of money necessary to run the city's business are furnished to the council by the different city departments; and the council passes upon these estimates, determines the necessary appropriations, and fixes the tax rate accordingly. Hence the importance of choosing honest and competent men to serve in the city council; for if unwise expenditures are voted, the tax payers of the city suffer a direct financial loss.

Taxes and appropriations

When large public works are to be built, as waterworks or lighting plants, it is usually necessary for the council to borrow money through the issue of bonds. Bonds are really the promissory notes of the city; they are generally issued in amounts of $500 or $1000 each, for a period of twenty, thirty, or forty years, at four to six per cent interest. Municipal bonds are sold to bankers or other persons who offer to pay the highest premium for them; and the money received is used for the purpose named in the bond issue. On account of the large expenditures involved, many city charters require all proposed bond issues to be submitted to the voters for approval.

Municipal bonds

113. The Council's Power to grant Franchises. Another important power of council is that of granting franchises. When a company wishes to supply gas, electricity, or telephone service to the people of the city, or desires to construct and operate a street railway system, it applies to the city council for the privilege. If the council approves the request, it grants the company a franchise, which is in the nature of a contract between the city and the company. Generally one company is granted the exclusive right to furnish the particular service; for it is not desirable to have different companies furnishing telephone service, or operating rival street railway systems.[1] Hence the company

Why franchises are important

[1] Street railway systems, telephone plants, and waterworks require a large outlay for construction and operation. Competition means building two plants where one would answer, and generally results in poor service at high rates. Sooner or later, the competing companies combine, and then the public has to pay the cost of the former wasteful competition.

which receives a franchise has a valuable monopoly; and in granting franchises, the council should insert provisions which will safeguard the rights of the public. This is done by limiting the rates to be charged for the service, by reserving to the council the right to require additional facilities, and sometimes by providing that the city may take over the plant upon payment of a fair valuation.

The public's interest in franchises

In granting franchises, our councils have often been heedless of the interests of the city, and have failed to secure an adequate return for the privileges granted. In some cases, unscrupulous men have bribed council members in order to obtain valuable franchises on their own terms. To prevent this, many city charters now require that all franchises granted by the council shall be submitted to the voters for their approval.

Popular vote on franchise grants

114. Miscellaneous Powers of the Council. The remaining powers of the city council are in general like those which the county board exercises for the county. These include the purchase of property for public uses, the construction of public buildings, the preservation of order, the protection of the public health, the power to issue licenses, and the general control over the city's local affairs.

115. The City's Executive Department. The executive branch of the city government comprises the mayor, aided by a number of administrative boards or chiefs; and a large number of subordinate officials. The mayor is elected by popular vote for a term varying from one to five years.

The mayor — election, term, and salary

two years being the common term. He receives a salary which ranges from a few hundred dollars in the smaller municipalities to $15,000 in New York City.

The mayor's power over administration

The authority of the mayor varies greatly in different cities. Generally he has power to appoint the heads of the administrative service, subject to confirmation by the council. For the removal of officers thus appointed, the consent of council is also necessary; so that responsibility for the administration is divided between the mayor and the council. This divided authority makes it almost impossible to locate the responsibility for inefficient service. In other words, while the mayor is in theory responsible for the administration of the city's business, he cannot be held actually accountable, for many of the city officials he cannot possibly control. His powers are not equal to his responsibility.

The "responsible mayor"

Recent charters, especially in the larger cities, give the mayor power to appoint the heads of the administrative departments without the approval of council; and also the right to remove them at his discretion. Under this plan, the mayor becomes the actual and responsible head of the city administration.

Mayor's power to secure the peace

In all cities, the mayor is the chief guardian of the peace of the city, as the sheriff is for the county, and has similar powers with regard to quelling riots and calling upon the governor for the State militia.

Veto power

In many cities, the mayor has the important power of vetoing or forbidding ordinances which have been passed by the city council (Sec. 111).

In this way he exercises an important control over city legislation.

116. **Administrative Departments of the City.** In order to carry on the large volume of business performed by the city government, administrative departments are organized, under the control of boards or departments chiefs. In the larger cities, for example, there are departments of public works, of police, fire, health, law, elections, education, libraries, parks, finance, and charities.

If the city's business is to be efficiently managed, it is necessary, (1) that there shall be a single individual who can be held definitely accountable for the work of all these departments; (2) that the various departments work together in harmony; and (3) that the numerous subordinate employees be chosen on the basis of merit, rather than because of services rendered to some political party.

Essentials of good municipal administration

117. **Selection of Administrative Boards and Officers.** The method of selecting the chief administrative officers and boards varies widely in different cities. Sometimes they are elected by the council; or they may be appointed by the mayor, with or without confirmation by council; and again, they are often elected by popular vote. Appointment by the mayor, with confirmation by council, is the common method; but the present tendency in the large cities is to give the mayor exclusive power to appoint and remove the principal administrative officers.

Various methods of selection

In most cities, the treasurer, comptroller, and mem-

bers of the board of education are elected by popular vote; and generally the police judge, the city solicitor, and the tax assessor are chosen in this way.

Elective boards and officials

The library and park departments of the city are sometimes under the control of boards, instead of administrative chiefs. Members of these boards usually serve without pay, the routine work of the department being performed by salaried officials.

Library and park boards

In some cities, the police, fire, and health departments are managed by boards, which are generally appointed by the mayor; but in many others, each of these departments is under the control of a commissioner, who is appointed by the mayor, or elected by popular vote. Sometimes these three departments are combined under the supervision of a board of public safety, or a commissioner of public safety.

Police, fire and health departments

The street and the building departments are also sometimes united under a board of public works, or a commissioner. By combining several departments under a single board or commissioner, it is easier to locate responsibility for their management.

Street and building departments

118. **The Commission Plan of City Government.** We have seen that the large number of city officials, and the distribution of authority among many administrative boards and officers, makes it difficult to hold any one responsible for the management of the city's business. One of the most promising plans for correcting this condition is known

Powers vested in a small board

as "the commission system" of city government. Under the commission plan, the entire city administration is entrusted to five commissioners, elected by the voters of the city. One of the commissioners has the title of mayor, and has general supervision over the entire administration. Each of the other four commissioners has charge of one of the four city departments: (1) the department of finance, (2) that of waterworks and sewers, (3) police and fire protection, and (4) streets and public property. The five commissioners meet as a body to pass ordinances, to make important appointments, to vote appropriations, and to award contracts.

The commission plan eliminates the city council, and makes the government of the city more like that of a business corporation, which entrusts large powers to a small board of directors. Thus it has the great merit of definitely locating responsibility for the city's administration. Over five hundred cities have now adopted some form of commission government; and the system seems to be rapidly growing in public favor.

Popularity of the commission plan

A recent modification of the commission form of government is known as the "city-manager" plan. This provides for a small elective commission, but the commission does not itself carry on the work of government. For the general management of the city's affairs, the commission appoints an expert administrator, or city manager. The city-manager plan aims to secure permanent, expert service for the city's administration, in the same way that a large corporation selects an expert and capable

The city-manager plan

manager for its affairs. Responsibility for the city's administration is centered chiefly in the manager, since the commission usually gives him large authority. If the city's affairs go wrong, the voters know whom to blame. Dayton, Ohio, has adopted this plan, and about 150 smaller cities also have city managers. Thirteen states have authorized the adoption of this plan by the cities which desire it.

119. Civil Service Reform in Cities. City governments have suffered greatly from the spoils system. Under this system, men are appointed to office because of their services to a political party, or because they are friends of the successful candidates, rather than on account of their ability to perform the duties of the office. The great national parties wage vigorous political campaigns in the cities, and seek to elect their candidates on partisan issues which have no bearing upon local affairs. It is of no practical consequence to the residents of the city whether the street commissioner is a Democrat or a Republican; the important consideration is his honesty and ability. But the national parties insist upon electing local candidates upon the basis of their Democratic or Republican politics, so that they can use the city offices as rewards for faithful party workers.

The spoils system

Now the work of paving and cleaning the streets, providing a water-supply, and constructing public buildings, is a business matter, and has no relation to a man's views on the tariff. The policeman, the fireman, the clerk in the waterworks office, ought to be selected because of ability to do the work well; and they should not be turned

City affairs are business, not politics

out of office except for incompetency. In other words, the subordinate city officials should be appointed and should hold their positions on the same basis as the employees of a private business concern. The manager of such a company does not inquire about the politics of his employees: he is interested only in the question of their honesty and efficiency.

In order to eliminate from our municipal government the spoils system, with the inefficiency and corruption which it involves, many cities have established a merit system for the selection of subordinate city employees. Under this plan of civil service reform, competitive examinations are held, and appointments are made on the basis of merit. Moreover, employees thus appointed cannot be removed from office except for incompetency. This reform of our civil service is one of the most promising means of securing better city government; it makes appointment to office, tenure, and promotion depend upon ascertained merit, rather than upon political influence.

Civil service reform

120. **City Elections.** Another means of eliminating the evil of partisan politics in our city affairs is by separating municipal from State and national elections. In many commonwealths, city elections are held in the spring, or in the odd-numbered years, so that municipal questions may be considered on their merits, apart from the issues of State and national politics. In separate municipal elections, voters are less likely to support the entire ticket of their party; and they are more inclined to exercise discrimination in favor of the best men.

Why separate elections

Nomination of candidates by petition has also

proven an effective means of securing good candi-
Nomination by petition
dates, and is especially valuable as a check upon the nominations made by political parties (Sec. 37).

121. Summary of Municipal Functions. In other chapters we have studied the many important functions performed by city governments. These are as follows: —

(1) The city must protect the lives and property of its citizens; this it does by means of its police and fire departments (Secs. 42–46).

(2) It safeguards the health of city residents through its health department (Secs. 47–48).

(3) The city government provides public parks, playgrounds, and boulevards for the enjoyment and recreation of the people (Sec. 52).

(4) The city maintains schools and libraries for the great purpose of free public education (Secs. 64–66).

(5) The city government has charge of the streets. This duty includes the paving and lighting of streets, the construction of sewers, street cleaning, and the removal of waste (Secs. 50–51).

(6) The city provides a water-supply, or authorizes some company to perform this important service (Sec. 50).

(7) The city should regulate transportation on street railways in such a way that the people will secure low fares and good service (Sec. 113).

(8) The city government, aided by private charitable organizations, must care for the poor, always more numerous in cities than in the country (Chap. VII).

(9) Through public taxation, the city council must

obtain the funds necessary for all these purposes, and expend them wisely and economically (Chap. XII).

In order that all of these great public services may be properly carried on, the city needs the intelligent coöperation of every citizen. By watchful care of his conduct, by constant regard for the rights of his neighbors, and by taking an intelligent interest in municipal affairs, every boy and girl can help the city in its great work.

QUESTIONS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. What is the area of your city? Its population?
2. Was your charter granted to the city by the State legislature? How may it be amended?
3. Into how many wards is your city divided? In which one do you live?
4. Draw an outline map of your city, marking the boundaries of the wards.
5. Does your council consist of one chamber or of two? How many members are there in the council?
6. Are the members elected from wards or from the entire city? Which is the better method?
7. Give the qualifications, term, and salary of members of the council.
8. Are members nominated by party conventions, direct primaries, or by petition (nomination papers)? Which method is preferable?
9. How many committees in your city council? How chosen? Name the important ones.
10. When does your council meet? Where? Visit a council meeting and write an account of it.
11. State the following facts concerning your mayor: how elected, term, qualifications, salary, how removed.
12. What administrative officers does the mayor appoint? Can he remove these officers? Is the consent of the council necessary in either case?
13. How many persons are employed by your city government? What departments employ the largest number of persons?

14. Is there a civil service commission in your city? If so, describe its duties.
15. Has your mayor the veto power? If so, what vote is necessary to pass an ordinance over his veto?
16. In case of serious disorder or riot in your city, what would be the duty of the mayor?
17. Make a list of the other important executive officers in your city. State how they are chosen and describe their duties. Do these officers belong to the same political party as the mayor? Are they subject to his control?
18. Name the courts in your city. How are the judges chosen? Is there a juvenile court? If so, describe its work.
19. What is your city tax rate? What was the total amount of taxes collected for city purposes last year?
20. What is the total debt of your city? How is this debt to be paid? In what way was the money borrowed?
21. Describe the organization of the fire department in your city. How many firemen are employed? What was the cost of police and fire protection last year?
22. Are the police and fire departments under civil service rules? Give arguments in favor of this plan.
23. How many members on your board of education? Are they chosen from wards, districts, or at large? Term of members? What are the duties of the board of education?
24. What officials manage the park system of your city? Locate the principal parks. Are they placed so as to be easily accessible to the public?
25. Does your city maintain public playgrounds for children? Does it provide municipal baths?
26. Is the cost of street paving paid out of the general fund, assessed upon property owners, or is a combination of the two methods employed?
27. Are the streets well-paved? What materials are chiefly employed? Are the streets kept clean and in good repair? What was the cost of maintenance last year?
28. Is your water-supply under municipal or private control? If the former, name the authority in charge. How is the cost met?
29. Are your streets lighted by gas or by electricity? Is the plant under private or public control?
30. Give arguments for and against municipal ownership of waterworks and lighting-plants.
31. What body has the power to grant franchises? Why are franchises so important to the people of a city?

CHAPTER XI

THE STATE GOVERNMENTS

122. Origin of the State Governments. In your study of American history, you have learned that all of the original thirteen States except Georgia were established as colonies during the seventeenth century. These colonies were usually founded by companies or individuals who had received a charter from the British crown, authorizing them to settle certain parts of America. The early scattered settlements grew rapidly, and developed into the thirteen sturdy colonies which from the outset were exceedingly jealous of their rights and privileges. In each of these colonies, there was a governor, generally appointed by the king, or by the proprietor;[1] a legislature, the lower house of which was elected by the people; and a system of courts for the trial of civil and criminal cases.

Establishment of colonies

You all know the story of the brave struggle of the people of these thirteen colonies against the government of Great Britain; of their resistance to taxation without representation; of the final appeal to arms, and the glorious conclusion of the seven long years of warfare. So the close of the Revolution found the thirteen colonies transformed into thirteen independent States, which

Colonies become independent States

[1] In Connecticut and Rhode Island, the people elected the governor, and also both branches of the legislature.

soon afterwards united to form a nation under the federal constitution. To this union of States new commonwealths were admitted one by one, as the pioneers moved westward to settle the unbroken wilderness. As each State was admitted, a new star was added to the blue field of the flag, until to-day we have forty-eight States, each a partner in the great Union of which we are justly proud.

123. The Formation of State Constitutions. You have learned that many of the original thirteen colonies were granted charters by the British crown. The charter defined the territorial limits of the colony, and outlined the general form of the government, consisting of legislative, executive, and judicial departments. When independence was declared in 1776, the colonies made over their charters into State constitutions, or framed new constitutions patterned after the colonial charters. These early constitutions have now been replaced with more recent ones; but at least three of the New England States continued under their original constitutions for many years.

Modification of colonial charters

When the people of a State desire to adopt a new constitution, the initiative is usually taken by the State legislature, which passes a resolution calling for a constitutional convention.[1] This resolution is submitted to popular vote at the next election; if the voters approve the proposal, arrangements are made for the election of delegates. The legislature designates the time and place for the meeting of the convention; and the State is divided

Constitutional conventions

[1] A two-thirds vote of the members of each branch of the legislature is generally necessary to pass this resolution.

into districts, in each of which the voters elect one or more delegates to represent them. After due discussion and deliberation, the convention frames a new constitution, which is then submitted to the voters of the State for approval or rejection.

When territories apply for admission to the Union, a constitution is prepared in the manner described above, by a convention chosen for the purpose; but this constitution must be submitted to Congress for approval, as well as to the voters of the territory. Congress may then pass a resolution admitting the territory to statehood. Admission of territories

124. Authority of State Constitutions. The constitution expresses the will of the people in a solemn and deliberate agreement; and it cannot be changed in any way except by a direct vote of the people. Hence the constitution is the supreme or fundamental law of the State, the law of highest authority.[1] All laws passed by the State legislature, all ordinances of city councils, and all actions of executive officials, must be in accordance with its terms; otherwise these laws or actions are null and void, and may be so declared by the courts. Supreme or fundamental law

125. Parts of the State Constitution. The State constitutions differ in detail, but follow the same general plan, and ordinarily include three main divisions. First, there is a bill of rights, setting forth certain fundamental principles of government, and enumerating important rights of the individual Bill of rights

[1] That is, supreme as compared with laws passed by the State legislature, or actions of State executive officials. We shall see later that the national constitution is of still higher authority, and State constitutions must not conflict with its provisions.

with which government may not interfere. For example, the bill of rights usually guarantees freedom of speech and of the press, provides for a fair and impartial trial of persons accused of crime, prohibits any law interfering with religious freedom, and secures other important civil and political rights.

Framework of government

The second division of the constitution establishes the general framework of government, consisting of the legislative, executive, and judicial departments. It sets forth the powers of each of these departments, and the method of choosing government officers.

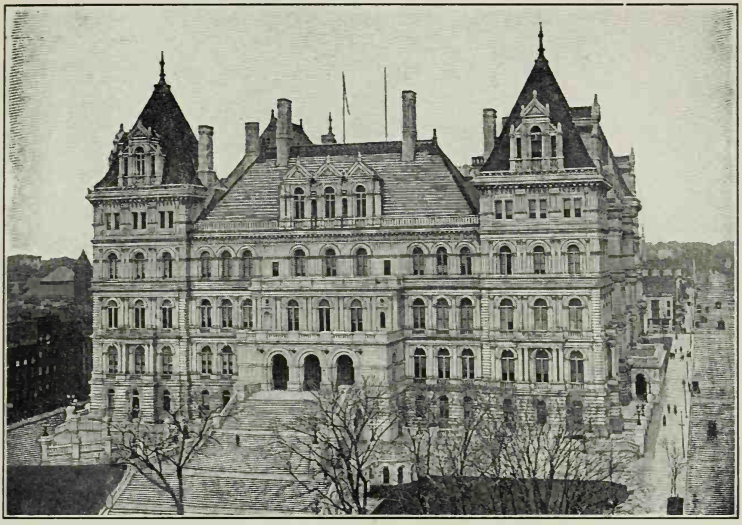
Miscellaneous provisions

The third part includes a large number of miscellaneous provisions, such as the articles upon suffrage, education, local government, corporations, taxation, and public lands, together with the method of amending or revising the constitution. As a rule, a two-thirds vote of each branch of the legislature is necessary to propose a constitutional amendment. If ratified by a majority of those voting upon it at the following State election, the amendment becomes a part of the constitution.

126. **The State Legislature.** The lawmaking power of the State is vested in a legislature, which consists of two houses or branches. The upper house or Senate is the smaller body, generally about one third the size of the lower branch, called the house of representatives or assembly. The two houses have practically the same powers,[1] and every bill must pass each house separately before it can be-

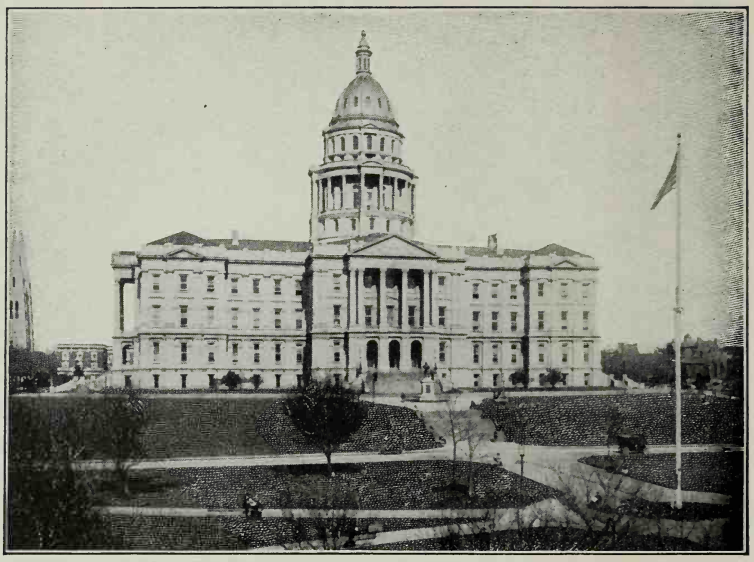
Two houses

[1] In most States, bills for raising revenue must originate in the lower house.



THE NEW YORK STATE CAPITOL AT ALBANY

THE OHIO STATE CAPITOL AT COLUMBUS



THE COLORADO STATE CAPITOL, DENVER

THE MASSACHUSETTS STATE HOUSE, BOSTON

come a law. The idea in having two branches is that each may act as a check upon the other, so as to prevent hasty or ill-considered legislation. We shall find many other examples in our government of this system of "checks and balances," whereby one branch of the government has powers which operate as a check upon some other.[1]

Members of the legislature are always chosen by popular vote from small districts into which the State is divided for this purpose.[2] Thus each voter casts his ballot only for the members from his own district. The constitution of each State fixes the qualifications necessary to entitle one to vote for members of the legislature, and for other officers of government. Citizens who have reached the age of twenty-one years, and who have lived in the State for at least a year, are generally entitled to vote. As a rule, a person qualified to vote is eligible to membership in the legislature.

Election of members

In two thirds of the States, senators are elected for four years, while the common term for representatives is two years. Members of each branch receive the same compensation, either a small annual salary, or a fixed sum for each day the legislature is in session.

Term and compensation

In most States, regular sessions of the legislature

[1] For example, the power of the governor to veto bills is a check upon the legislature. Again, the power of the courts to declare laws unconstitutional, and to pass upon the constitutionality of executive acts, serves as a check upon the legislative and executive departments.

[2] Every ten years, after the census is taken, the State legislature draws new district lines. The State is divided into senatorial districts, as nearly equal in population as possible; and into a larger number of representative districts.

are held once in two years; but special sessions may be called by the governor in case of emergency.

Sessions

In order to prevent too much lawmaking, the length of the session is often limited to forty, sixty, or ninety days. The legislature meets in the capitol or Statehouse, each branch having its separate chamber. The lieutenant-governor ordinarily presides over the senate, while the house of representatives elects its own presiding officer, called the speaker.

127. **The Process of making Laws.** The process of legislation is similar to that in the city council, and as we shall see later, resembles that in Congress. There is a group of standing committees in each house, appointed by the presiding officer, or elected by the members. The most important committees are those on taxation and appropriations, education, banking, roads, elections, corporations, manufactures, and agriculture.

Committee system

A bill may be introduced by any member; its title is read, and it is referred to the standing committee appointed to consider legislation on this subject. If unfavorable to the measure, the committee ordinarily does not report upon it at all; in other words, the bill is "killed in committee." If the committee approves the bill, it reports the measure back to the house, with the recommendation that it be passed. The bill then receives a second and a third reading, is discussed and perhaps amended. Upon being put to vote, a roll-call is usually taken; and in order to pass, the bill must receive the votes of a majority of the members voting.

The enactment of laws

If passed, the bill is signed by the presiding officer, and sent to the other house. Here the same process is repeated; and if the other branch passes the measure, it is sent to the governor for his consideration. If the other house makes any changes or alterations in the bill, it must be sent back to the house where it originated; and that body must agree to the change before the bill can be submitted to the governor.

The governor generally has a period of ten days to decide whether he will sign the bill.[1] His signature makes the bill a law. If he does not approve the measure, he may veto it; that is, send it back to the house in which it originated, with his reasons for vetoing it.[2] The bill cannot then become a law unless it is reconsidered in each house, and passed "over the veto" by a majority of two thirds or three fourths of the members.

The governor's veto

128. Powers of the State Legislature. The lawmaking power of the State legislature embraces a large number of subjects. It includes such important matters as the making and enforcement of contracts, the transfer of property, marriage and divorce, the punishment of crimes, the prevention of disease, the general control of education, the incorporation and government of cities, taxation and appropriations for State purposes. In fact, the legislature may pass laws upon any subject not prohibited by the State or the national constitution. In view of these broad powers, we see how important it

Many powers included

[1] If he does not sign or return it within this period, it becomes a law without his signature.

[2] North Carolina is the only State where the governor does not have the veto power.

is to choose as members of the legislature men of honesty and ability, who will legislate with a single purpose in mind — the best interests of the State.

As a check upon the powers of the legislature, and in order to secure laws desired by the people, several constitutions authorize direct legislation by the voters themselves, through the initiative and referendum (Sec. 30).

Direct legislation

129. **State Executive — The Governor.** The chief executive officer of the State is the governor, who is elected by the voters, generally for a term of two or four years.[1] In most States, the election of the governor and other State officials is held on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November. Vigorous campaigns are waged by the political parties in the State elections, especially in close States; so that this election is second in importance only to the presidential election.

Election and term

The State constitution prescribes the qualifications for governor. As a rule, he must be at least twenty-five years of age; he must have been a citizen of the United States for five years, and a resident of the State for the same period. The average salary of the governor is about six thousand dollars a year.

Qualifications and salary

130. **The Governor's Powers.** The principal duty of the governor is to see that the laws of the State are faithfully executed. But as we have seen, the actual execution of State laws is entrusted largely to local officials, over whom the governor has

Executes State laws

[1] In Massachusetts and Rhode Island the term is one year; twenty-two other States have a term of four years, the remainder a two-year term.

little or no control; hence it is often impossible to hold him responsible for the execution of the laws. Like the mayor in many cities, his actual powers are not equal to his responsibilities. One writer has compared the governor to a passenger on board a ship navigated by a crew which he does not select, and over which he has few powers of command.

The governor has the power to appoint many minor State officials, usually subject to confirmation by the Senate; and some of these he may also remove. A few commonwealths[1] have adopted the merit system for the appointment of minor State officials; but in most States, the spoils system prevails. In other words, the successful political party distributes the public offices among faithful party workers (Sec. 119). Appointments

The governor is commander-in-chief of the State militia, and may call them out to protect the State, or any local community, from disorder, riots, or insurrection. In extreme cases he may ask the President of the United States for federal troops (Sec. 43). Military powers

The most important powers of the governor are those relating to lawmaking. At the beginning of each session of the legislature, he sends to that body a message, recommending the changes in legislation which he thinks should be made. If the governor is a man of considerable tact and ability, he may influence legislation to a large degree. He has power to summon the legislature to meet in special session in case of emergency; and he Legislative powers

[1] New York, Massachusetts, and Wisconsin.

may adjourn it if the two houses are unable to agree upon a time for adjournment. Most important of all, he may veto any bill passed by the legislature; and only in rare cases will it be possible to secure the large majority necessary to pass a measure over his veto.

Power over pardons

The governor usually has power to pardon criminals who have been convicted in the courts, although in some States this action can be taken only on recommendation of a board of pardons, or of the executive council. In rare instances, new evidence is discovered after the trial, which shows that the convicted man is in fact innocent. More often the pardoning power is used in cases where the original penalty seems to have been unduly severe; or where the prisoner appears to have fully expiated his offense, and seems deserving of his freedom.

131. Other Important Executive Officers. Besides the governor, six other important executive officers are usually elected by the voters of the State. Being chosen in this way, they are responsible to the people, rather than to the governor; so that he can exercise little control over them.

Chief State officials, and their duties

The *lieutenant-governor* ordinarily presides over the senate, and succeeds the governor in case of the latter's death, resignation, or disability. The *secretary of State* is the chief clerical officer of the State government. He keeps the official records, publishes the laws of the commonwealth, and takes charge of election returns. The *auditor* or *comptroller* supervises the financial business of the State. He issues warrants to the *treasurer*, instructing him what money is to be paid by the latter from State

funds. The *attorney-general* is the legal adviser of the governor and other executive officers, and, aided by district attorneys, represents the commonwealth in criminal and civil cases in which the State is a party. The *superintendent of public instruction*, also called the *commissioner of schools*, supervises the educational interests of the commonwealth (Sec. 67).

132. **Appointive Officers and Commissions.** Besides these principal executive officers, there are many less important officials, generally appointed by the governor with the consent of the senate. These include the commissioner of agriculture, the food and dairy commissioner, the commissioner of banking, insurance commissioner, superintendent of public printing, State librarian, factory inspector, fire marshal, and many others.

Administrative officials

A large part of the business of the State is carried on by boards or commissions, the members of which are usually appointed by the governor. For example, there are boards of agriculture, of public health, of charities and corrections, railway commissions, public utilities commissions, and boards of trustees for the numerous State institutions (State university, and asylums for the blind, the deaf, and the insane).

State boards or commissions

These boards act under the authority conferred by the legislature, and the governor exercises little control over them. Some of them have important powers. For example, the State railway commission is sometimes authorized to regulate the charges of railways for the transportation of passengers and freight. The public utilities commission regulates the charges made

by corporations which furnish such public utilities as telephone service, gas, and electric lighting.

133. **The Judicial System.** Courts are tribunals for the administration of justice; they decide upon the meaning of the law, and its application to individual cases. Our courts are the great bulwark for the protection of individual rights; for they afford redress to persons who have been injured by the unlawful acts of others. If the wrongful act is one that affects the general public as well as the person directly injured, it is considered a public wrong or crime. For example, murder, burglary, and arson are crimes, and will be redressed by government in a criminal proceeding. On the other hand, if the wrong is one which chiefly concerns the individual, and affects the public only indirectly, the injured party must himself seek redress through a civil suit. An example of such a private wrong would be the failure of one person to carry out a contract which he had agreed with another to perform.

Courts exist to secure individual rights

134. **Procedure in Civil Cases.** The person who seeks redress for a private wrong by bringing suit against another is called the plaintiff; the party against whom the suit is brought is the defendant. Through his attorney, the plaintiff files in the court a statement of the grounds of his suit, this being known as his *declaration*, *petition*, or *complaint*. The defendant then files his *reply* or *answer*, setting forth any defense which he has against the charges made by the plaintiff. The suit will then be tried by the judge; or in some cases, by the judge and jury. Evidence is presented first by the plaintiff,

How lawsuits are conducted

then by the defendant. Witnesses are called by each side, who give their sworn testimony, and are cross-examined by the opposing attorney. The attorneys then argue the case. If it is being tried before a jury, the judge instructs the members on the points of law involved; for the jury decides only questions of fact. The jury then retires for deliberation, and endeavors to arrive at a verdict; that is, to decide whether the plaintiff has proved the claims made in his petition. If the verdict is in favor of the plaintiff, the judge issues an order or judgment, directing the defendant to pay the damages awarded by the jury. If the money is not paid, the sheriff will take possession of the defendant's property, and sell enough of it to satisfy the judgment of the court.

135. **Procedure in Criminal Cases.** If a crime has been committed, government itself acts as the plaintiff. The proceeding commences with the arrest of the accused person upon a warrant issued by the proper magistrate.[1] In case of petty offenses or misdemeanors, the accused will be at once tried in the police or justices' court. If found guilty, judgment will be rendered and a penalty imposed; if innocent, the prisoner will be immediately discharged.

Warrant and arrest

But if the offense is a felony, that is, one punishable by death or imprisonment in the State penitentiary, the accused ordinarily cannot be put on trial unless the *grand jury* finds sufficient evidence against him to warrant this action. The grand

Indictment

[1] An arrest may be made without warrant (1) by a police officer *on suspicion;* or (2) by an officer or private individual, if a crime is being committed in his presence.

jury is a body of from twelve to twenty-three citizens, chosen from the county for the purpose of investigating serious offenses which have been committed therein. If a majority of the grand jury believes that the accused should be held for trial, it returns an *indictment*, or formal accusation against him. Pending the action of the grand jury, and until his trial begins, the suspected person is held in jail, unless he can furnish *bail* or security that he will appear for trial.

The trial

The trial is begun by reading in court the charge or indictment, whereupon the prisoner is asked to plead guilty or not guilty. Twelve citizens satisfactory to both sides are selected as a jury, and are sworn to try impartially the case between the government as a prosecutor and the defendant. From this point on, the procedure resembles that in civil cases, and consists of the introduction of evidence, the arguments of counsel, the instruction of the judge, the deliberation and verdict of the jury, and the judgment of the court.

The verdict of the jury must be unanimous; and if they are unable to agree, a new trial will be ordered. If the verdict is "not guilty," the prisoner is at once discharged, and cannot be again tried for the same offense. If found guilty, the defendant's attorney may take the case to a higher court, where the points of law involved in the case will be reviewed.

The State constitutions contain numerous provisions which safeguard the rights of a person accused of crime. He is entitled to reasonable bail,[1] to a

[1] Except for capital offenses where guilt is evident, or the presumption great.

speedy public trial before an impartial jury, and to counsel for his defense. He may testify in his own behalf, but cannot be compelled to take the stand unless he chooses to do so; the court will compel the attendance of witnesses whose testimony he desires; persons who testify against him must do so in his presence. He is presumed to be innocent until he is proven guilty; and his guilt must be proven beyond a reasonable doubt, otherwise the jury will be instructed to render a verdict of acquittal.

Constitutional safeguards for accused persons

136. **The System of State Courts.** Most civil and criminal cases arising in the United States are tried in the State courts, which usually comprise three grades: (1) inferior courts, or those of lowest grades; (2) intermediate courts, or those with general power to try most cases; and (3) supreme courts, or those of last resort.

Three grades

The courts of lowest grade include those presided over by justices of the peace in rural districts, and the police and other municipal courts in the cities. These courts are established in every local community, each township having its justice of the peace, and each city its municipal and police courts. In them are tried petty offenses against law and order, and disputes over property or contracts which involve only a small amount of money.

Inferior courts

The intermediate or county courts are the ordinary tribunals for the trial of civil and criminal cases. Parties who are not satisfied with the judgment of the inferior courts usually may carry their cases up to the county court for decision by a

Intermediate courts

higher authority. The county courts also try for the first time the great number of cases which are too important to be heard by inferior courts.

The third and highest State court is the supreme court, which meets at the State capital. It consists of from three to nine judges, whereas one judge presides over the lower courts. Cases of sufficient importance may be carried up to the supreme court for final decision;[1] and some very important cases may be tried there in the first instance, without being taken through the lower courts.

The supreme court

The supreme court has the important power of deciding whether a law passed by the legislature is in accordance with the State constitution. If it finds that this is not the case, it declares the law unconstitutional, or of no effect; for the constitution is the supreme law of the State, and whatever conflicts with it is null and void.

Constitutionality of laws

In addition to the three grades of courts described, many States have a special court in each county, called the probate or surrogate's court. This tribunal has jurisdiction over the probate of wills, the appointment of administrators and guardians, and the care of the estates of wards.

Special courts

137. **Judges of State Courts.** The judges of the lower courts are elected by the voters in each local community, for a term varying from two to four years. Supreme court justices are generally elected by the voters of the entire State, and serve for a term which averages about

Selection, term, and salary

[1] In exceptional cases (where a national law, treaty, or the national constitution is involved), the decisions of the State supreme court may be reviewed by the Supreme Court of the United States.

eight years.[1] Salaries are small in comparison with the income of prominent attorneys, so that the honor of the office is chiefly relied on to secure judges of ability.

Importance of judicial office

No office in our government is of greater importance than the judiciary. If judges are ignorant or corrupt, our whole plan of government fails; for the courts have final decision upon the meaning of the laws, and upon all questions of individual rights. If men feel that they cannot obtain justice in the courts, disorder and revolution are almost certain to follow.

It is customary to elect judges on party tickets, as the other State officers are chosen. This practice is unfortunate, for the judge should not owe his nomination or election to any political party. We have had instances in our history where a corrupt party machine has controlled judges, and compelled them to do its bidding. This would not have occurred had the judges owed their election to the people, rather than to a party faction. But as a rule, our judges have refused to be controlled by parties or individuals. Generally they have set a high standard of that impartial, fearless, and upright conduct which must characterize the judiciary, unless our government is to be a failure.

[1] In Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, supreme court justices are appointed for life; elsewhere the term ranges from two years in Vermont to twenty-one years in Pennsylvania.

QUESTIONS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. When, by whom, and under what circumstances was the constitution of your State made?
2. Was it ratified by popular vote? Why should the people vote upon this question?
3. How many constitutions has your State had in all? Has any proposed constitution ever been rejected by the voters?
4. How many amendments have been added to your State constitution?
5. Describe in detail the method by which your State constitution may be amended, giving (*a*) the method of proposing amendments, and (*b*) the method of ratification.
6. What is the official name of your State legislature? Of each house? How many members in each house? What are the qualifications for membership?
7. For what term are members of your legislature chosen? What salary do they receive? Is the senate a continuous body?
8. Does your district frequently return the same members to the legislature, or is rotation in office customary? Who are the present members from your district? To which political party do they belong? Which party has a majority in your legislature?
9. How often does your legislature meet? Is the length of the session limited by the constitution?
10. How many committees in each branch of your legislature? Name the most important ones.
11. Organize your class into a house of the State legislature, and draw up and pass a bill in due form. (If possible obtain the assistance of your local representative.)
12. Make a list of the chief subjects with which your State legislature may deal. Compare this with the list of subjects over which a city council or town-meeting has authority.
13. Give the term, qualifications, and salary of the governor of your State.
14. Is the governor of your State eligible for a succeeding term? If so, is reëlection customary?
15. Are candidates for governor in your State nominated at primaries or by conventions? When does the State election occur?
16. What officers may your governor appoint? Is the consent of the Senate necessary?

17. Examine the provisions of your State constitution concerning the governor's legislative powers, including his power (*a*) to convene the legislature in extra session, and to adjourn it under certain conditions; (*b*) to recommend legislation; (*c*) to veto legislative acts.
18. How may the governor's veto be overcome in your State?
19. Has the governor of your State had occasion to call out the militia within recent years? If so, under what circumstances?
20. Who would succeed the governor in the event of a vacancy in this office?
21. In most commonwealths the seven principal executive officers are the governor, lieutenant-governor, secretary of State, treasurer, auditor or comptroller, attorney-general, and superintendent of education. Prepare an outline giving the following facts concerning each of these officers in your State: how chosen, term, qualifications, salary, duties, how removed.
22. Name the several grades of courts in your State, beginning with the lowest.
23. Do you favor appointment or election of judges? Short or long terms? Give reasons.
24. Describe the kind of man who you think would make a good judge.
25. What are the advantages and defects of trial by jury?
26. In your community what court has jurisdiction over misdemeanors? Over felonies?
27. Describe the first steps in a criminal action under the laws of your commonwealth?
28. How is the grand jury chosen? Of how many citizens does it consist? What does it do?
29. Explain the importance of jury trial to one accused of crime.
30. Give arguments for and against capital punishment.

CHAPTER XII

HOW THE EXPENSES OF GOVERNMENT ARE MET

138. How Government pays its Bills. In previous chapters we have seen the important services which government performs to aid the individual and to promote the public welfare. These services involve vast expenditures, and the cost must come, directly or indirectly, from the pockets of the citizens. It comes from the wages of the poorest laborer, as well as from the income of the capitalist; from the earnings of the professional and business man, from the salaries of those who are employed, from the income of all the people. It is paid by means of taxes, which may be defined as compulsory contributions of wealth levied upon individuals in order to meet the expenses of government.

Government services paid for through taxes

139. Need of Honesty and Economy in Government Expenditures. Everyone is eager to have his share of the services which government provides — the public schools, the libraries and parks, the streets and highways, the protection of the police and firemen; but as a rule, men are not so eager to contribute their share toward the cost of providing these services. People usually grumble a good deal about taxes, and pay them grudgingly; but they have no real cause for complaint provided government performs it work with economy and efficiency. But if public money is wasted, the taxpayers

Cost of dishonesty borne by taxpayers

have a right to object. If dishonest contractors do poor work for the city, and incompetent city officials accept and pay for this work, the entire community is being cheated. Hence all government expenditures should be carefully scrutinized; public contracts should be let to the lowest bidder who will do the work well; honest and competent men should be chosen for the management of the city's business, so that it may be carried on with the same efficiency that successful private enterprises are managed. If this is not done, the taxpayers have only themselves to blame; for ours is a representative government, and the people are responsible for the character of the men who hold public office.

140. Taxes must be authorized by the People. Our forefathers waged a successful revolution to establish the principle that taxation and representation must go hand in hand; for otherwise taxation is oppression. The taxes which Great Britain levied on her colonies in America were not heavy or burdensome; but the colonists considered them unjust because they were not represented in the British parliament. The principle that taxes shall be levied only with the consent of the people, given through their representatives, is older than the American Revolution. It dates back to Runnymede, where the victorious barons compelled King John to recognize, as a fundamental principle of English liberty, that taxes may be levied only with the consent of Parliament.[1]

Cause of the American Revolution

[1] *Magna Charta*, or The Great Charter, signed by King John in 1215, was the first great Bill of Rights in English history.

Upon this principle of taxation by the people our government was founded. Our national constitution authorizes Congress to levy taxes, but provides that all bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives, which is chosen directly by the people. The same principle prevails in our State and local governments. State taxes are levied by the State legislature, local taxes by city councils and county commissioners, all elected directly by the people. Thus in our national, State, and local governments, the power to tax is lodged with the representatives of the people; in other words, the people tax themselves.

Taxation and representation

141. **Evasion of Taxes.** Hence a man who tries to evade his taxes is not cheating that intangible thing which we call government; he is really cheating his neighbors and fellow citizens. He is accepting the benefits of community life while seeking to avoid its burdens. If a number of boys should club together to build a tennis court, and then, after it is built, two or three of them should refuse to contribute their share, you would at once say that these boys ought not to play on the tennis court. In the same position is the man who accepts the benefits of government, and then tries to evade his share of the cost.

An effort to cheat the community

142. **Taxes proportioned to Ability to pay them.** How much taxes ought each individual to pay? This depends upon how much wealth a man has, for you will readily agree that a man whose income is $1000 a year ought not to pay as large a tax as one whose income is $10,000.

Individuals are taxed according to their property

In every case, taxes should be levied in proportion to the individual's ability to pay them ; and the measure of this ability is the amount of property that he owns.

143. **Purposes for which Governments expend Money.** The total amount raised by taxation for our national, State, and local governments is about twelve billion dollars each year. Of this immense sum, the national government expends about forty-five per cent ; the State governments, seven per cent ; while local expenditures, or those of cities, counties, and townships, comprise about forty-eight per cent of the total.

National, State, and local taxes

Of the federal expenditures, about seventy per cent are for military purposes; that is, they are due to the cost of the army, navy, and pensions. Pensions are classed as military expenditures because they are occasioned by past wars ; while the expenditures for the army and navy represent preparation for possible wars. Thus of every dollar that the national government takes from the citizens in taxes, seventy-two cents are expended for war, or preparation for war. This immense burden upon taxpayers is one of the strongest arguments in favor of international arbitration as a substitute for war in settling disputes among nations.

National expenditures

The principal expenditures of State governments are for the maintenance of the legislative, executive, and judicial departments ; for educational, charitable, and penal institutions (as State universities, asylums for the blind, the insane and feeble-minded, and prisons) ; for State buildings and public works ; and for interest on the public debt.

Expenditures of State governments

Local governments bear the heavy expense of schools and libraries, poor relief, roads and bridges; while in addition, cities expend large sums for police and fire protection, for the construction of waterworks, street paving and sewers, and for the maintenance of public parks and playgrounds.

Local expenditures

144. **Classification of Taxes.** We have seen that taxes are compulsory contributions levied in order to defray the expenses of government. They may be classified as direct and indirect. Direct taxes are those which are levied immediately and directly upon the persons who are to bear the burden of the tax. For example, a tax on land or on household belongings is a direct tax, since it is borne by the person against whom the tax is assessed. Other examples of direct taxes are poll taxes, corporation taxes, and taxes upon inheritances and incomes. Direct taxes form the chief source of income for our State and local governments.

Direct taxes

Indirect taxes are those levied upon commodities before they reach the consumer. The man who pays the tax in the first instance is not the tax bearer, since the tax is ultimately paid by the consumer in the form of a higher price. For example, a tax on goods imported from abroad is first paid by the importer; but he adds the amount of the tax to the price of the goods, so that the consumer who afterwards purchases the goods pays the tax. From indirect taxes (customs duties and excises), the national government derives nearly all its revenue.

Indirect taxes

145. **The General Property Tax.** The most important tax levied by the State and local governments is

the general property tax, which furnishes about three fourths of their total revenues. This tax is levied upon real estate, consisting of lands and buildings; and upon personal property, including furniture, jewelry, money, bonds, stocks, and other forms of movable property. It is called a *general property* tax, because in theory it is levied upon all the property, real and personal, belonging to the residents of the community. In practice, the largest and most valuable portion of personal property escapes this tax; for notes, stocks, bonds, and other forms of credit can be readily concealed from the assessor. Probably less than one fifth of the entire amount of personal property is reached under the general property tax; and many States now endeavor to tax this form of wealth by other means, as we shall see.

Levied on real and personal property

146. **Assessment.** Before the general property tax can be levied, an assessment or valuation must be made of all the property within the community, so that each person may be taxed according to the value of the property that he owns. A local tax assessor is usually elected in each rural township or city ward. This official inspects the property of each person in his district, and assesses its value. To aid in this work of assessment, each taxpayer may be required to make out, under oath, a written inventory or declaration of all his taxable property, and its value.

Tax assessors and their work

147. **Equalization.** The actual or market value of property is a difficult matter to determine; hence the valuations of local assessors may vary widely, even in

the same county. One assessor may place a high valuation upon the property of his district, another may assess property at only one half or two thirds of its real value. Or the same assessor may place too high a valuation upon one man's property as compared with that of his neighbor. This would work injustice, for some persons would then pay more, others less, than their share of taxes. To correct these inequalities, there is a county board of equalization in each county, which reviews and corrects the work of the local assessors. Individuals who believe that their property has been unfairly assessed may appear before this board, and ask to have the assessment corrected.

County boards of equalization

In order that each county may bear its fair burden of State taxes, a State board of equalization is appointed, which reviews and adjusts the valuations fixed by the county boards.

State boards of equalization

148. How the General Property Tax is levied in Cities. Let us suppose that all the property of the city has been assessed, and that the city council has determined the amount of money needed to run the government during the ensuing year. The next step is to fix the rate of taxation; that is, to ascertain the per cent of taxes which must be levied upon each dollar's worth of taxable property. This is found by dividing the amount of money to be raised by the total assessed value of property within the city. For example, if the total assessment in a city is $200,000,000, and the expenditures of the city government are estimated at $2,000,000, the rate of taxation will be $2,000,000

Fixing the rate of taxation

divided by $200,000,000, which gives .01, or one per cent.[1] Hence the taxpayer who owns property assessed at $5,000 must contribute one per cent of that sum, or fifty dollars, toward the expenses of the city government.

The amount of revenue to be levied for county purposes is fixed by the county commissioners, that for State purposes by the State legislature. The rates for county and for State purposes are then determined by dividing the amount of revenue needed by the total assessment of property within the county, or within the State, as the case may be.

How county and State taxes are paid

Accordingly, the city property owner pays his city tax rate, plus the county rate, plus the State rate. He pays the entire tax to the county treasurer,[2] usually in two installments. This official then distributes to the city and State treasurers their share of the funds.

Taxes not paid before a certain time become delinquent, and a penalty of from five to fifteen per cent, besides interest, is added to the amount of the tax. If the tax continues unpaid, the property may be sold by the sheriff to satisfy the claim.

Delinquent taxes

Some kinds of property are exempt from taxation. For example, no tax is levied on school buildings, the courthouse, or other property which belongs to the public. Hospitals and other charitable institutions, and churches, are likewise exempt, being

Exempted property

[1] On the tax bill sent to each taxpayer, the rate is generally expressed in mills. For example, the rate of one per cent would be ten mills on each dollar's worth of taxable property.

[2] Or to the city treasurer, as the case may be.

organized not for profit, but to do work which is of general public benefit.

A small amount of personal property (usually a few hundred dollars) is exempt for each individual, so that persons who own very little property shall not be taxed on their few belongings.

149. **Corporation or Business Taxes.** Several States derive a large part of their revenue from taxes on corporations, the chartered companies which carry on most of our business nowadays. As a rule, the general property tax does not reach the shares of stock owned by individuals in a corporation; but this same wealth can be reached by a tax levied directly upon the corporation, based upon its capital stock or its annual earnings. Bank deposits, for example, can be reached by means of a tax levied against the bank as a corporation; whereas most individual depositors fail to include bank accounts in the declaration of their taxable property.

How levied

150. **Licenses.** Local governments, especially in cities, derive a large amount of revenue from licenses paid by saloon keepers, peddlers, and pawnbrokers. These licenses are generally intended to restrict business which is considered undesirable, as in the case of saloons; and at the same time to secure a revenue for the city government. Other licenses are required solely for the sake of revenue, as those paid by owners of automobiles, carriages, and bicycles.

151. **Poll or Capitation Taxes.** A number of commonwealths still retain the antiquated and unjust poll or capitation tax, which is a tax of two or three dollars a head, levied upon all male citi-

Why unjust

zens over twenty-one years of age. This tax is unjust because it requires every man, rich or poor, to pay the same amount, thus ignoring the question of the taxpayer's ability to pay.

152. **Inheritance Taxes.** About three fourths of the States, as well as our national government, levy inheritance taxes. The rate depends upon the amount of the bequest, small sums being exempt or taxed at a very low rate, while large bequests pay a higher rate. Generally the rate is lower for a bequest to a wife or children than for one made to distant relatives, or to persons who are not related by blood to the deceased.

153. **Revenues from Municipal Monopolies.** City governments which own waterworks, or electric light plants, derive a revenue from these enterprises through fees or charges collected from the users. As a rule, the net profit from these industries is small, the policy being to make the rates only slightly higher than the cost of the service. These fees are not taxes, since they are not levied upon all owners of property. They are charges which government, as a business concern, makes to individuals for special services supplied to them.[1]

Business revenues of city governments

154. **Special Assessments.** When the city paves a street, or builds a sewer system, it is customary to charge all or a large part of the cost to the owners of property on each side of the street. These "special assessments" are levied on the theory that the adjoin-

[1] Other examples of government fees are those required for recording deeds and mortgages, court fees, and fees for marriage licenses. In all these cases, a special service is performed by government for the individual who pays the fee.

ing property receives most of the benefit of the improvement, and that it should therefore bear most of the expense.

155. Taxation by the National Government — Customs Duties. The national government derives a considerable part of its revenues from customs or import duties, which are taxes levied on goods brought to this country from abroad. These duties are levied not only as a means of revenue, but also to protect domestic manufactures against foreign competition.

What customs duties are

Customs or import duties are collected at ports of entry located at different points along our boundary. Each importer presents an inventory of the goods which he has brought from abroad, and a statement of their value. The government collector of customs and his assistants then decide the amount of duty to be paid. If importers place a dishonest valuation upon their goods, the government officials may charge a double rate of duties as a penalty. On many articles there is a very high tariff, so that strict precautions are necessary to prevent smuggling.

Collection of customs duties

The advantage of taxing imports is, that this kind of tax is scarcely felt by the people; for the duties are paid by the importer, who adds the amount of the tax to the price of the goods. This may be considered a disadvantage as well; for people are more likely to overlook waste and extravagance in government expenditures, if they do not realize that they themselves are paying the bills. Indirect taxes are not brought to their attention

Advantages and defects of this form of tax

in the same forcible way as direct taxes, which they pay directly to the local treasurer; but they pay the indirect tax nevertheless, without realizing its amount, or the burden which it imposes.

Other objections to import duties are, that these taxes are not proportioned to the wealth of the taxpayers, but impose an undue burden upon persons of moderate means. Moreover, import duties are an uncertain form of tax, likely to yield least when the government need is greatest. For example, in time of war or industrial depression, foreign trade usually declines, and the receipts from import duties decrease accordingly.

156. Excises or Internal Revenue Taxes. An excise or internal revenue tax is one levied upon the consumption, manufacture, or sale of commodities within a country. Like customs duties, these taxes are borne by the consumers who pay higher prices for the articles taxed. This form of tax is levied chiefly upon liquors and tobacco. The rate is made high, since it is considered desirable to discourage the consumption of these commodities.

What excise taxes are

For the fiscal year 1918, the national government received from internal revenue taxes the enormous sum of $3,694,000,000. Of this total, the taxes on income and excess profits yielded $2,839,000,000. The second largest item was from the tax on liquor, $443,000,000; while from tobacco and its manufactures, the revenue was $156,000,000. This heavy taxation was the result of war conditions. In normal times, internal revenue taxes yield about $400,000,000.

For the collection of excise taxes, the country is

divided into a large number of districts, in each of which there is a collector of internal revenue. The duties are paid by means of revenue stamps, which must be purchased from the government and pasted on each unit of the commodity. If you examine a cigar box, you will see that these stamps are pasted on in such a way as to be broken when the box is opened.

Collection of excise taxes

Excise taxes can be increased readily in time of war, and many additional articles taxed. For example, during the Civil War, in the Spanish-American War, and in the War of 1917, Congress levied stamp taxes on checks, telegrams, and express receipts, besides heavy taxes on almost every form of industry.

157. Miscellaneous National Taxes. During the Civil War Congress levied a general income tax, which was in force from 1861 to 1872. Again in 1894, Congress endeavored to levy an income tax, but the Supreme Court of the United States declared this tax unconstitutional. By a constitutional amendment ratified in 1913, Congress was authorized to tax incomes; and in the same year a law was passed taxing incomes above a certain amount. This rate has since been increased in order to provide for the large increase in federal expenditures. Our present income tax applies not only to individuals, but also to corporations, whose "excess business profits" pay a large tax into the national treasury.

Income tax

The federal government has authority to levy direct taxes, but they must be in proportion to the population of the States, and cannot be based upon the distribution of wealth. On five different

Direct taxes

occasions Congress has levied direct taxes, the last being in 1861. Only a small amount of revenue was obtained, and it is unlikely that Congress will again make use of this kind of tax.

158. **Borrowing Money.** In addition to the revenue secured by taxation, it is sometimes necessary for governments to meet extraordinary expenditures by borrowing money. State and local debts are generally incurred for expensive public works, as electric light plants, waterworks, street paving, courthouses, schools, and other public buildings. These public works will be used by many generations of people; it is therefore unjust to place the whole burden of their cost upon present-day taxpayers.

Government bonds, and how they are issued

Governments borrow money by issuing bonds, which usually bear from four to six per cent interest, and run for a long term, generally thirty or forty years. These bonds are sold at public sale; and since the investor is sure of the safety of his money, they command a premium except during time of war.

State debts are now decreasing, and a number of commonwealths are practically free from debt. On the other hand, local and city indebtedness is rapidly increasing, owing to the large number of services which these governments are called upon to perform. The total municipal indebtedness throughout the Union is about six times that of the State governments.

State and local debts

The national debt is due chiefly to the wars in which the United States has been engaged. During the Civil War, the national debt reached a total of

over two and one half billions. After the war this debt was gradually reduced, until it amounted to about one billion dollars just before we entered the World War. This great conflict made necessary loans on a scale never before thought of, four great Liberty Loans having been made during the war, and a fifth Victory Loan soon after the armistice was signed. The total cost of the war to the United States, exclusive of loans to our Allies, is estimated at $22,000,000,000. Vast as is this indebtedness, the United States has immense resources with which to meet its obligations.

National debt

QUESTIONS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. State which of the following kinds of taxes are levied in your State: general property tax, mortgage tax, inheritance tax, corporation tax, poll or capitation tax, income tax, license or business tax, franchise tax.
2. What is the total assessed valuation of property in your city or county? What is the tax rate for city, school, county, and State purposes? Taking the assessed valuation as a basis, figure the amount of revenue which each area would receive at the respective rates. (A tax bill should be brought to class and used in answering the foregoing.)
3. Study the method of assessing property and of levying the general property tax in your community. Compare with the process described in the text.
4. What portion of one's real or personal property is exempt from taxation in your State? What is the reason for the exemption?
5. Does personal property bear its share of taxation in your community, or does the greater part of it escape taxation? Can you suggest a remedy?
6. By whom are taxes assessed in your city or county? To whom paid?
7. Does the right to vote in your State depend upon the payment of any kind of taxes? Are all taxpayers voters?

8. What is the amount of your State debt? Of your county debt? Of your city debt? Of your school-district debt? How are these debts to be paid? How do the amounts of these forms of indebtedness affect the present tax rate?
9. For what amount are bonds generally issued by your local government? What is the usual rate of interest? How are the bonds sold?
10. For what purposes are governments justified in issuing bonds? Is it proper to issue bonds to defray current expenses?
11. May the United States government tax legacies? May a State tax imported goods?
12. Discuss the arguments in favor of a federal income tax.
13. May Congress grant to certain individuals the privilege of importing goods free, while compelling others to pay duties? May Congress provide a lower rate of duties on goods shipped to Boston than on similar goods shipped to New York?
14. What imports are taxed heavily for the sake of revenue only? Does the chief burden fall on articles of luxury or on necessities?
15. Account for the enormous growth of governmental expenditures. Is this increase justifiable? (Reinsch, P. S., *Readings*, pp. 355–359.)
16. Discuss the reasons given by President Cleveland for his veto of the River and Harbor Bill in 1896. (Reinsch, P. S., *Readings*, pp. 359–361.)
17. May Congress distribute surplus revenue among the States? Has this ever been done?
18. What is meant by the statement that bonds are quoted at 106? At 98? Examine your daily papers for the current price of United States bonds. How do you account for changes in these quotations?
19. Get from your school-board officer a copy of this year's "budget." Which items are the largest? Point out where to economize. Which other items might thus be increased? Show how you can help your school save, and suggest ways of using these savings.
20. Does your State prepare a budget of its probable expenses? How is this prepared?
21. Present an argument for a national budget.
22. Clip from newspapers or other source an advertisement for supplies, or for work to be done for your city. What is meant by "letting a contract" to the lowest bidder? Why does the city use this method of hiring the work done? What check is used to insure honest work?

CHAPTER XIII

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

159. The Second Continental Congress (1775–1781). In your study of our national history, you have learned something of the Second Continental Congress, the Revolutionary assembly which carried on the eventful struggle with Great Britain. Each colony sent delegates to this Congress, which thus formed a bond of union among the thirteen different colonies, making it possible for them to act as one country. Throughout the Revolution, the Second Continental Congress really exercised the powers of a national government. It raised an army and a navy, borrowed money, established the post-office and treasury departments, adopted the Declaration of Independence, concluded a treaty of alliance with France, and later the treaty of peace with Great Britain.

Governing body during Revolution

160. Formation of the Confederation Government. As soon as independence was decided upon (1776), the Second Continental Congress drew up a plan for a permanent union of the thirteen new States, under a form of government called the Articles of Confederation. These Articles were finally ratified by all the States (March 1, 1781), and continued in force from that date until the adoption of our present constitution, about eight years later. The government established by the Articles of Confeder-

A league of States

ation was not a national government such as we have to-day, with power to enforce its laws and to tax the people for its support. The States were too jealous of their own rights to create a strong national government; so they formed a league or confederation in which the smallest State had as much power as the largest.

161. Characteristics of the Confederation Government. Instead of three departments of government, executive, legislative, and judicial, the powers of this Confederation were exercised by a Congress of one house, in which each State had an equal vote. Since there was no national executive, Congress had to depend upon the States to enforce its laws. For example, Congress could not levy taxes upon the individual citizen, and compel him to pay them, as our national government does to-day. It could only ask the States to contribute their share toward the common expenses; and since many States failed to pay, the Confederation government soon became bankrupt.[1] Nor could Congress raise soldiers by compelling men to serve, as our government did in the Civil War, and in the World War. It could only request the States for troops, and was helpless if the States did not choose to furnish them. Congress also lacked the power to control commerce by means of commercial treaties and trade regulations. Commerce with foreign nations and among the several States was controlled by the individual commonwealths, each of which tried to promote its own trade

Lack of necessary powers

[1] From 1782 to 1786, Congress made requisitions on the States amounting in all to $10,000,000, of which only about $1,500,000 was actually paid.

at the expense of all the rest. Hence State quarreled with State; and foreign governments treated the new nation with contempt, declining to make treaties with a government powerless to enforce them.

Within the States there was disorder, and sometimes rebellion. Worthless paper money was issued in large amounts, debts were repudiated, and in Massachusetts the debtors took up arms to prevent the holding of courts. This disorder Congress was powerless to suppress; indeed Congress itself was at one time chased out of Philadelphia by a handful of drunken soldiers clamoring for their pay. Such were the conditions during the critical period of our history from 1783 to 1787, until at last men realized that the Union must be strengthened, or give way to a condition of anarchy and civil war.

Internal disorder

162. The Constitutional Convention (1787). Meantime some of America's foremost men, especially Washington, Hamilton, and Madison, were striving to form a better system of government. Largely through their efforts, it was finally determined to hold a constitutional convention. This body was to revise the Articles of Confederation so as to create a government with powers adequate to the country's needs. On May 25, 1787, the delegates to this convention met at Philadelphia, in the famous building where the Declaration of Independence had been signed twelve years before. Among the fifty-five members were many of the greatest leaders of the time, including Washington, Madison, Hamilton, Franklin, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris, Roger Sherman, and Charles Pinckney. In view

Illustrious members

of the experience and ability of its members, the magnitude of the task before them, and their splendid achievement, the Constitutional Convention may be regarded as the most notable assembly which has ever met in this country.

163. **Organization and Proceedings.** The convention organized by selecting George Washington as presiding officer. It was decided that all outsiders should be excluded from the sessions, and that each State should have one vote, as in the Confederation Congress.

Contest over nationalism

The first contest arose over the question whether a strong national government should be created. Many of the delegates wished to amend the Articles of Confederation, giving Congress somewhat larger powers, but leaving the States supreme in most matters, as before. Some delegates desired to temporize in order to please the people. Washington put an end to the temporizing policy in these memorable words: "If, to please the people, we offer what we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterwards defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and the honest can repair; the event is in the hand of God." After some discussion, the attempt to revise the Articles of Confederation was abandoned. The convention determined to create a national government, consisting of executive, legislative, and judicial departments; and this government was to have all the powers necessary to carry on its work.

164. **The Compromise over Representation.** It was readily agreed that the national legislature or Congress should consist of two houses; but there was a long

and earnest debate over the method by which the States should be represented in this body. The large States insisted that representation in each branch of Congress should be proportioned to population, while the small States demanded equal representation in both houses, regardless of the size of the State. Neither side would yield, and for a time it seemed likely that this dispute would wreck the convention. Finally the compromise plan suggested by Sherman of Connecticut was adopted, the agreement being called the Connecticut Compromise. In the lower house of Congress each State was to be represented in proportion to its population, while in the upper house the States were to be equally represented, each having two Senators.

Representation in the House and Senate

165. Regulation of Commerce and the Slave Trade. A second compromise was necessary in order to reconcile the views of the delegates from the slaveholding States with those from commercial New England. The commercial States desired to give the national government power to regulate commerce; but the slaveholding States feared that this power, if granted, might be used to prohibit the slave trade. Finally it was agreed that Congress should have power to regulate commerce, but that the slave trade should not be prohibited prior to 1808.

166. Election and Term of President. Many other compromises and modifications were necessary before the convention could complete its work. Originally it had been agreed that the President should be chosen by Congress for a term of seven years. Fearing that this plan would make the executive a mere agent of

Congress, the convention finally determined that the President should be chosen by the Electoral College for a term of four years.

167. Completion of the Convention's Work. At last, after four months of deliberation, the convention completed its great task; and on September 17, 1787, the new constitution was signed by thirty-nine delegates. As the members were affixing their signatures, Franklin pointed toward the presiding officer's chair, on the back of which was painted a half-sun, and remarked to those near him that painters found it difficult to distinguish in their art between a rising and a setting sun. "I have," he declared, "often and often, in the course of this session . . . looked at that behind the president without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting. But now I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting sun."

168. The Contest over Ratification. The new constitution was not to become effective unless ratified by at least nine of the thirteen States; and as soon as it was published, the contest over ratification commenced. The opponents of the constitution declared that it gave too much power to the national government at the expense of the States, and that its adoption would sound the death knell of popular liberty. The Federalists, as the supporters of the new constitution styled themselves, defended the proposed plan with great ability, pointing to existing conditions as an unanswerable argument in favor of a stronger government. The Delaware Convention was the first to ratify the constitution (December 6, 1787). Others

soon followed, and after some delay the ninth State, New Hampshire, accepted the constitution (June 21, 1788), thus insuring its adoption. Virginia and New York soon brought the number up to eleven; while North Carolina and Rhode Island gave a tardy and reluctant assent in 1789 and 1790, respectively.

169. Inauguration of the New Government. The first Wednesday in March, 1789, was fixed as the date for inaugurating the new government, and the city of New York was chosen as the temporary capital. Summoned by unanimous vote to the presidency, George Washington left his beautiful country home at Mount Vernon to take up the heavy responsibilities of his office. On April 30, 1789, in the presence of a vast multitude of people, he was inaugurated President, and the new government was fairly launched on its course.

170. Constitutional Amendments. To the original constitution framed in 1787, nineteen amendments have since been added. The first ten of these are known as the bill of rights, because they are designed to secure the rights and liberties of the individual against government oppression. Freedom of religion, of speech, and of the press, and the right of petition, are assured. Arbitrary arrest, unreasonable searches or seizures, the quartering of soldiers in private houses, and the taking of private property without just compensation, are prohibited. The right of trial by jury is guaranteed, and excessive bail, excessive fines, and cruel and unusual punishments are alike forbidden.

The Bill of Rights

The eleventh amendment relates to the jurisdiction

of the federal courts. The twelfth changed the method of electing the President. The thirteenth amendment abolishes slavery, the fourteenth makes the negro a citizen, and the fifteenth forbids the States to deny him the right to vote "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." The sixteenth amendment gives Congress the power to levy an income tax. The seventeenth provides for the election of United States Senators by the voters of each State, instead of by the State legislature. The eighteenth prohibits the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor. The nineteenth amendment grants the ballot to women on equal terms with men.

Other amendments

171. Method of Amending the Constitution. These amendments were adopted by one of the two methods which the constitution provides for its amendment. They were first proposed by Congress, a two-thirds vote of each house being necessary, and afterwards ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the States.

The original constitution has also been modified by the broad interpretation placed upon its provisions by the Supreme Court, which has expanded the authority of the national government to keep pace with the wonderful industrial development of our country.

172. The Federal System. Our government, as we have seen, is a federal one. We have forty-eight States, each having its own State government charged with important duties and powers; while all of the States are united to form a national government, exercising powers relating to the welfare of the nation as a whole. The States are as essential to the Union as the fingers to the hand; and

Relation of Union to the States

the Union is equally essential to the States. The federal plan of government has been compared to the solar system, the national government resembling the sun, and the States the planets, each moving in its respective orbit.

Hence it follows that the States have duties toward the national government, as well as toward one another; and the national government, in turn, has obligations toward the several States. One of the duties of every State is to remain a member of the Union: in other words, ours is "an indestructible Union composed of indestructible States." Also, the States are under obligation to maintain a militia over which the national government exercises certain powers of control. They also have the duty and privilege of electing Senators, Representatives, and presidential electors, thus helping to carry on the national government.

Duties of States

Toward one another the States have certain duties, the most important of which is that of *extradition*, or the giving up of persons charged with crime to the authorities of the State where the crime was committed.

Extradition

The national government has important obligations toward the individual States. It guarantees every State a republican form of government, and will protect each against foreign invasion, or domestic violence which the State authorities are unable to suppress.

Obligations of the national government

173. **Powers of National and State Governments.** The constitution vests in the national government those powers which are essentially national in char

acter, leaving the States in control of all other matters. Thus the national government has charge of foreign relations, including the right to make treaties, to send and receive ambassadors, to declare war, and to make peace. Control of commerce with foreign nations and among the several States, is another important power belonging to the national government. Congress likewise has power to coin money, to establish a postal system, to make laws on the subject of naturalization, to control territories and public lands, to maintain an army and navy, to grant copyrights and patents, to borrow money, and to levy taxes for the support of the national government. All of these powers are expressly granted in the federal constitution; and we see that all of them are powers which should be performed by the national government, since they affect the welfare of the entire country.

The national government's powers

To the States, on the other hand, are left matters of more local concern, including education, local government, regulation of contracts, of marriage and divorce, commerce wholly within a State, laws against crime, and taxation for the support of State and local governments.

Powers of State governments

In the federal constitution are placed important prohibitions on the national government, as well as upon the State governments. The object of these prohibitions is to prevent encroachment by one government upon the sphere of the other, or upon the rights of the individual. For example, Congress may not tax exports, or grant titles of nobility, or establish or prohibit any form of religion; nor

Prohibitions

may any State levy a tax upon imports, or coin money, or establish or allow slavery.

QUESTIONS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. What temporary unions were formed among the American colonies prior to 1781?
2. Which body exercised greater authority, the Second Continental Congress or the Congress under the Articles of Confederation?
3. What were the causes of armed resistance to Great Britain as set forth in the Declaration adopted by the Second Continental Congress? (MacDonald, William, *Select Documents*, I, pp. 374–381.)
4. What great territorial ordinance was adopted by Congress under the Articles of Confederation?
5. Discuss the reasons which made a new constitution imperative. (*The Federalist*, nos. XV, XVI, XXI, XXII.)
6. Discuss the efforts to amend the Articles of Confederation. (Kaye, P. L., *Readings*, pp. 39–44.)
7. Which were the "small States" at the time of the Constitutional Convention?
8. Explain how the constitution corrected the chief defects of the government under the Articles of Confederation.
9. Was the compromise on the subject of representation a fair one?
10. Prepare a report upon the contest over ratification. (Landon, J. S., *Constitutional History of the United States*, pp. 89–124.)
11. Is the process of amending the federal constitution too difficult? Give your reasons.
12. Give an account of the election of 1800, and explain why the twelfth amendment was necessary.
13. Prepare a report upon the adoption of the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth amendments.
14. Explain fully how the federal government brings its authority to bear directly upon individuals. Contrast this with the condition under the Articles of Confederation.
15. Explain the reason for giving the national government control of each of the subjects enumerated in Section 173.

CHAPTER XIV

CONGRESS AND ITS WORK

174. Our National Capital. Doubtless some of you have visited the beautiful city on the banks of the Potomac which is the capital of the nation; and all of you know in whose honor this city was named. Of the magnificent public buildings to be seen here, the most imposing is the Capitol, a massive structure of iron and marble built on the crest of a hill, and covering an area of over three acres. Surmounting the Capitol is an immense dome, two hundred and eighty-eight feet in height, with a cupola from which you may view the entire city, and see the distant mountains between which flow the placid waters of the Potomac. On the top of this dome is the Statue of Liberty, a female figure in bronze, holding in the right hand a sheathed sword, the left resting on a shield and a victor's wreath. Over either end of the Capitol building a flag raised in the daytime, or a brilliant light in the dome at night, indicates that Congress, the legislature of the nation, is in session.

The Capitol building

The Senate chamber is in the north wing of the Capitol building, while the great hall of the House of Representatives occupies the south wing. The Senate chamber is the smaller, since there are only two Senators from each State, or ninety-six in all. The Hall of the House of Representatives is large enough to accommodate four hun-

Halls of Senate and House

dred and thirty-five members, for in this body the States are represented according to population. In the Senate chamber, members occupy desks with revolving chairs. Members of the House of Representatives are now seated on benches, as in the British House of Commons. Around all four sides of each hall are immense galleries for visitors.

175. Composition of the Senate. It may seem strange to you that Nevada with a population of 81,875 should have two Senators, while the great State of New York with over nine million people should be represented by the same number. This equality of representation in the Senate is the result of a great historic compromise, necessary in order to secure the consent of the smaller States to the adoption of our federal constitution. Since the constitution provides that no State may be deprived of its equal representation without its own consent, this is a permanent and unchangeable feature of our government.

Equal representation

176. The Election of Senators. The voters of each State elect the two Senators who represent that State in the Senate, or upper house of Congress. The seventeenth amendment, adopted in 1913, established this method of election. Before that time, Senators were chosen by the legislatures of their respective States. The framers of the constitution believed that better men would be chosen in this way. But there were serious objections to the method of indirect election. If there were three candidates for the office, it sometimes happened that no one of them could secure a majority vote in the legislature. The result was a

"deadlock," or failure to elect. For many years, public sentiment demanded that Senators be chosen directly by the voters; and finally in 1913, the constitution was amended so as to bring about this result.

177. **Term and Qualifications of Senators.** Senators are chosen for a term of six years, whereas Representatives serve for but two years. The terms of one third of the Senators expire every two years, so that the Senate is a continuous body. In order to be a Senator, one must be at least thirty years of age; the average age of the members is about fifty-five years. A Senator must have been a citizen of the United States for nine years, and must be an inhabitant of the State from which he is chosen.

178. **Powers of the Senate.** The Senate shares with the House all the work of lawmaking, for no measure can become a law without the consent of both branches. In addition to this legislative power, the Senate has two special or executive powers, which it shares with the President: these are the power to confirm treaties, and to pass upon important executive appointments.

Legislative power

The President makes treaties with other countries, but he must submit them to the Senate for approval; and no treaty becomes binding unless ratified by a favorable vote of two thirds of the Senators. This gives the Senate considerable control over our foreign relations.

Confirmation of treaties

Moreover, the Senate's approval is necessary in the case of all important appointments made by the President — such as cabinet officers, ambassadors, federal

judges, consuls, collectors of customs and internal revenue. When the President is ready to make an appointment to one of these offices, he sends the name of the person he has selected to the Senate; and a majority vote of that body is necessary to confirm the appointment. In considering treaties and appointments, the Senate meets in secret or "executive" session; the galleries are cleared and the doors closed, in order that members may express themselves with entire freedom.

Power over appointments

179. The Election of Representatives. The House of Representatives, often simply called the House, is a much larger body than the Senate. Its members are chosen by the voters in the congressional districts into which each State is divided. The number of Representatives to which a State is entitled depends upon its population as ascertained by the federal census. Thus we find that Pennsylvania, with a population of 8,720,017, has thirty-six Representatives; Missouri, with 3,404,055, has sixteen Representatives; and New Hampshire, with 443,083 people, is represented by two members.

Once in ten years after the federal census is taken, each State is divided by its legislature into as many districts as the number of Representatives to which the State is entitled. These districts must be as nearly equal in population as possible; at the present time each district contains about 210,000 people. Sometimes State legislatures draw the district lines unfairly, so as to give a partisan advantage to the political party in control of the legislature. This practice of arranging districts, so as

Congressional districts

to give one party more members than it really deserves, is called gerrymandering.

180. **Term and Qualifications of Representatives.** Representatives are elected for two years, just one third as long as the term of Senators. To be eligible to the office, one must be at least twenty-five years of age. He or she must have been a citizen of the United States for seven years, and must be an inhabitant of the State from which he is chosen. Custom having almost the force of law requires that a member shall reside in the district which he represents.

181. **Privileges and Disabilities of Congressmen.** Senators and Representatives receive the same compensation for their services. The annual salary is now $7500, with an additional allowance for clerk hire, stationery, and traveling expenses.

Members of Congress are not allowed to hold any other federal office while serving in Congress; nor may they be appointed to any office which was created during their membership in Congress, or the salary of which was increased during their term.

182. **Special Powers of the House of Representatives.** The House of Representatives has two special powers which are not shared by the Senate. First, all bills for raising revenue must originate in this body, which represents the voters more directly than the Senate. This rule had its origin in Great Britain, where all revenue bills must originate in the House of Commons, or lower branch of Parliament. But the Senate may amend revenue bills, and does so freely; hence the exclusive power of the House to originate them is not of much practical consequence.

Revenue bills

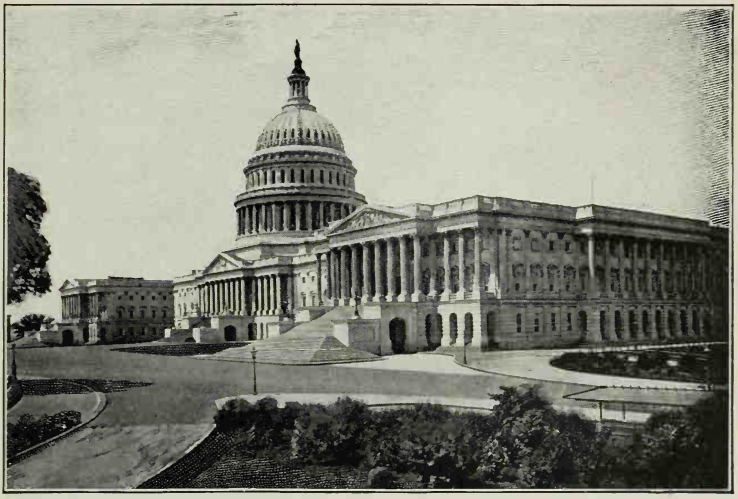
The second special power of the House of Representatives is the right to bring impeachment charges against any government official who has been guilty of misconduct. The process of impeachment is the means whereby Congress may remove from office any civil officer guilty of treason, bribery, or other serious offense. The framers of the constitution believed that the power of impeachment would enable Congress to check corruption and abuse of power, especially on the part of executive officials and federal judges.

Impeachment

The House of Representatives has the sole right to commence impeachment proceedings. The House, acting through a committee, draws up the articles of impeachment, just as the grand jury frames an indictment. If a majority of the House vote in favor of the charges, the officer is said to be "impeached," or formally accused. His trial then occurs before the Senate; and a two-thirds vote of the Senators is necessary to convict him. Throughout our national history, only ten officers have been impeached by the House; and of these only three were convicted by the Senate.[1]

183. Term and Sessions of Congress. The life of each Congress is two years, the same as the term for which Representatives are elected. The First Congress began its legal existence March 4, 1789, and expired on March 4, 1791; and so on to the Sixty-seventh Congress which began on March 4, 1921, and expires at noon on March 4, 1923.

[1] The most famous impeachment case in our history was that of President Andrew Johnson, who was acquitted by the narrow margin of one vote. Thirty-five Senators voted guilty, nineteen not guilty.



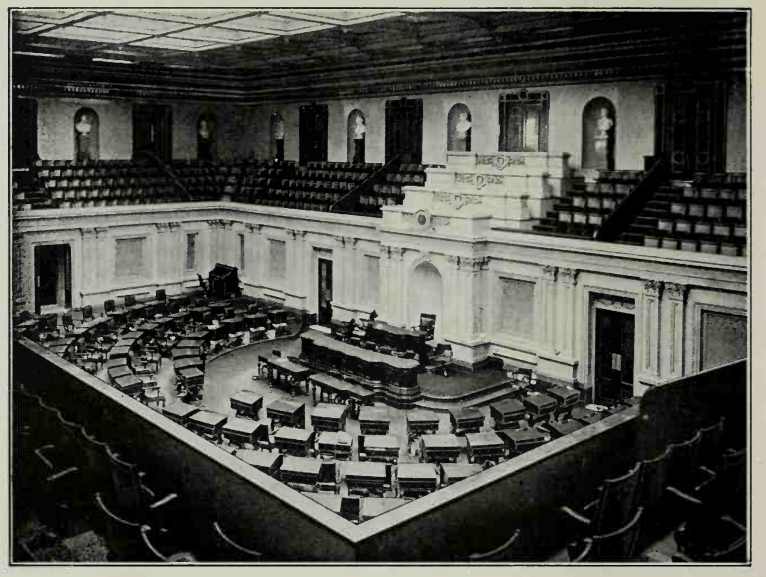
THE CAPITOL OF THE UNITED STATES, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Situated on Capitol Hill, about 1½ miles from the White House and the Treasury. The corner-stone was laid by President Washington, Sept. 18, 1793. The building was completed in 1859.

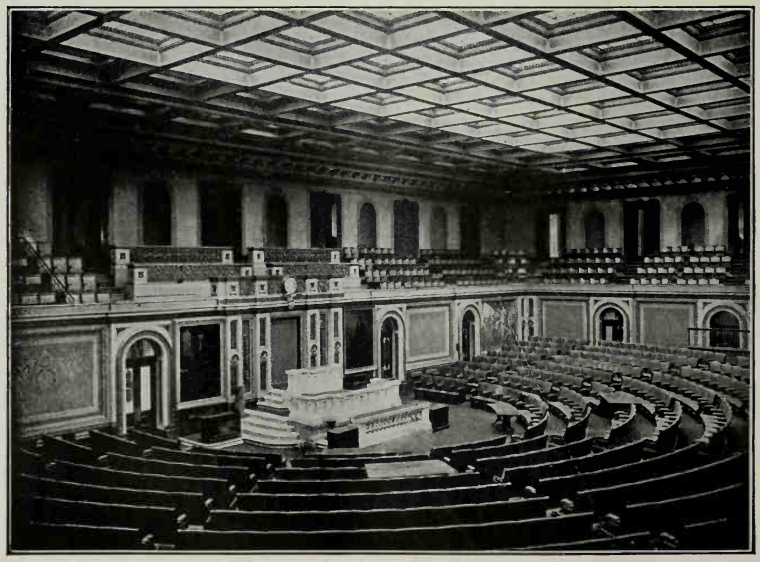
Courtesy, Superintendent of the United States Capitol and Grounds

THE OFFICE BUILDING OF THE SENATE

This building contains 99 rooms. A similar one for the House of Representatives contains 410 Each building is connected with the Capitol by a subway.



THE NATIONAL SENATE CHAMBER



HALL OF THE NATIONAL HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Each Congress has two regular sessions. The long session extends from December of each odd-numbered year until Congress adjourns the following summer, usually in June or July. The short session begins when Congress assembles in December of the even numbered years, and ends at noon on the following fourth of March. Special sessions may be called by the President or by Congress itself.

Sessions

Congressional elections are held on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November of the even-numbered years. Those persons are qualified to vote for Representatives who are permitted by the laws of their State to vote for members of the State legislature.

184. Presiding Officers. The Vice-President of the United States presides over the Senate; while the House of Representatives elects its own presiding officer, called the Speaker. The Speaker of the House is a very important officer; indeed, it has been said that, next to the President, he is the most important officer in our government. The Speaker is elected by the political party which has a majority in the House, and is usually a great party leader. He has two powers[1] which make his office a most important one: (1) He decides to which committee each bill shall be referred. (2) He exercises a large degree of control over debate, for no one can speak on any measure unless he is first recognized by the Speaker. When important measures are de-

The Speaker

[1] Throughout the greater part of our history, the Speaker exercised a very large control over legislation through his power to appoint the committees of the House. But in 1911, the House of Representatives made a change in its rules, and transferred this power from the Speaker to a committee of the House. This practice has tended to decrease the power of the Speaker.

bated, the Speaker, after consulting with the committee chairmen, decides who shall be recognized to debate the bill. If other members rise to address the House, the Speaker may decline to recognize them.

†185. **How Laws are made.** An immense number of bills are introduced in each Congress; the number often exceeds 20,000, for any member may introduce a bill on any subject. Not over one twentieth of these proposed bills will be enacted into law; and in order that they may be sifted out and properly considered, each house has a large number of committees. When a member introduces a bill, its title is read, and it is referred to the committee which has charge of that subject. Every member of the House serves on at least one committee; Senators serve on from five to ten.

Introduction of bills

Over a thousand bills are sometimes referred to a single important committee; so we are not surprised to learn that the committee simply ignores most of them. If the proposed measure is important, and has numerous supporters in Congress, the committee may consider it for some time, and then vote on the question of reporting it; that is, recommending that the House pass the bill. If the committee is unfavorable to the measure, it has practically no chance of being passed; the bill is then said to have been "killed in committee."

The committee system

If favorably acted on by the committee, the bill is reported back to the House or Senate with the recommendation that it be passed. It is then read a second time by the clerk, and placed upon the legislative calendar, where it must await its turn for con-

sideration along with hundreds of other bills. The calendar has been called "the cemetery of legislative hopes," because so many measures are buried there. If the bill escapes this fate, it may finally come up for the third reading, and for debate on the question whether it shall pass.

186. Debate in Congress. Debate in the House is restricted in many ways, because the size of that body makes it necessary to limit debate in order that anything may be accomplished. So the chairman of the committee in charge of the bill generally arranges with the Speaker which members shall be recognized for the discussion of the measure. After they have been heard, the debate is closed, and the House votes on the bill. Since the Senate is a smaller body, more freedom of debate can be allowed. Senators may speak as long as they please upon any measure; and they sometimes "kill" a bill by insisting upon their right to debate it indefinitely.

187. Methods of Voting. Votes in Congress are taken in one of three ways: (1) The presiding officer may call for the "ayes," then for the "noes," and decide by the volume of sound whether the motion has been carried. (2) By a rising vote, the members for and against the bill being counted by tellers. (3) In case of all important measures, or whenever one fifth of the members demand it, the vote is by roll-call, each member answering "aye" or "no" as his name is called by the clerk. The vote of each member is then recorded in the journal, and the voters in each district may ascertain how their representative has voted on the measure.

188. **Joint Action necessary.** If the bill receives a majority vote, it is then sent to the other house, where the same process is repeated; for in order to become a law, the bill must be passed by both houses in the same identical form. If one house amends or changes a bill passed by the other, it must go back to the house where it originated for approval in its amended form. In case of serious disagreement between the two houses on an important measure, a conference committee is appointed, composed of members from each house. This committee endeavors to adjust the differences, and report a bill satisfactory to both branches.

Conference committees

189. **The President's Veto.** Every bill which has passed both houses of Congress must be submitted to the President for his approval. As a rule, the President signs the measures submitted to him, and his signature makes the bill a law. But if he disapproves the measure, he may veto it; that is, he sends it back to the house where it originated, with a written statement of his objections. The bill cannot then become a law unless it is passed by a two-thirds vote in each house.[1]

If the President does not really approve the measure, but does not desire to veto it, he may omit either to sign the bill, or to return it within the ten days allowed him in which to consider legislation. The measure then becomes a law without his signature.

190. **Influence of Political Parties.** Political parties play an important part in the making of our laws.

[1] For the first passage of a measure, only a majority vote is necessary; but if the President vetoes it, a two-thirds vote in each house is necessary to pass the bill over his veto.

We have seen that each of the political parties presents to the voters a platform or declaration of policies which it promises to carry out, provided its candidates are elected. If the President and both houses of Congress are of the same political faith, then that party is clearly responsible for all legislation enacted. In the Sixty-second Congress, the House was Democratic, while the Senate and the President were Republican. Under such conditions, party measures cannot be passed except by gaining some votes from the opposition; and hence legislation is likely to be in the nature of a compromise.

In the Sixty-second Congress, a bill was passed by the Democratic House, after having been reported favorably by the Ways and Means Committee, reducing the tariff on wool. The Republican Senate, while opposed to the reduction provided in the House bill, was willing to accept a lower rate of duty; and both houses finally agreed upon and passed a compromise measure. This was vetoed by President Taft, and returned to the House, where it was repassed by a two-thirds vote. However, the majority necessary to pass the bill over the veto could not be obtained in the Senate, and hence the measure failed to become a law.

Compromise legislation

Another important act of this Congress was that establishing a Parcel Post. This measure was passed by both houses and signed by the President, thereby becoming a law.

When an important measure is about to be considered, members of each political party often hold a "caucus," or meeting of all the party members in

Congress, to discuss the bill and decide what action shall be taken. The decision made by the caucus is held to be binding on all regular party members.

The party caucus

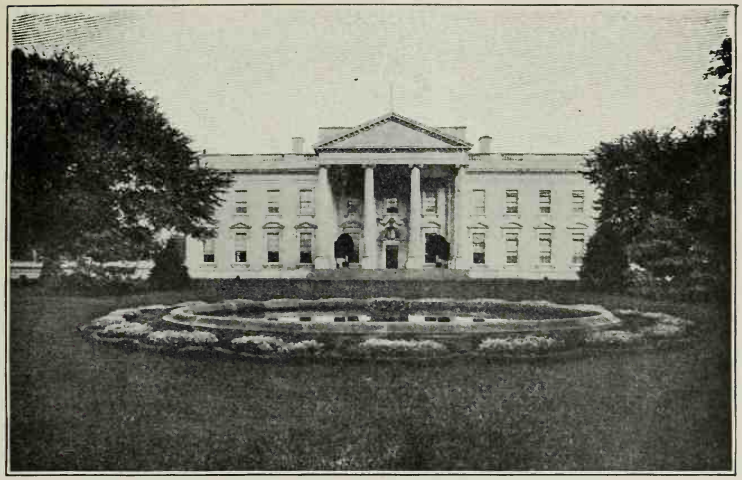
191. **Powers of Congress.** If we wish to find out what laws Congress may pass, we must examine the federal constitution; for Congress may exercise only the powers granted by the constitution, or which are necessarily implied as a result of powers expressly granted. The powers of Congress are enumerated in the federal constitution, Article I, Section 8, and in Article IV, Section 3. Among the most important are the following: —

(1) Power to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States.
(2) To coin money and fix the standard of weights and measures.
(3) To levy taxes.
(4) To borrow money on the credit of the United States.
(5) To establish post offices and post roads.
(6) To raise and support armies, and to maintain a navy.
(7) To provide for calling forth the militia in case of foreign invasion, or serious domestic violence.
(8) To declare war.
(9) To make rules for the government of territories and other property belonging to the United States.
(10) To legislate for the District of Columbia, the seat of government of the United States.
(11) To admit new States into the Union.

QUESTIONS FOR INVESTIGATION

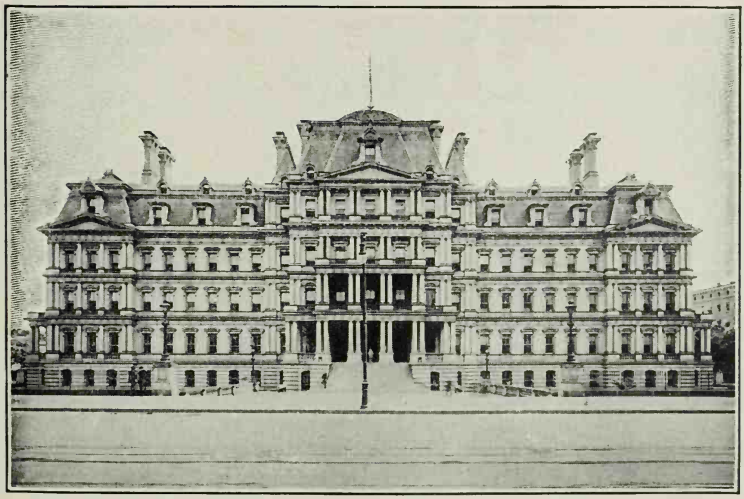
1. Name the Senators from your State. How long have they served? When do their terms expire? To which political party do they belong? What political offices did they hold before being elected to the Senate?
2. Were your Senators nominated by conventions, or by party primaries? Which plan do you consider the better one, and why?
3. Give arguments for and against the popular election of Senators.
4. How are the political parties represented in the present Senate? Name several of the most prominent Senators of each party.
5. Which of the special powers of the United States Senate is exercised by your State senate?
6. Prepare a list of executive officials appointed by the President, subject to confirmation by the Senate.
7. What officials in your congressional district were thus appointed? Was your Senator consulted?
8. Name several treaties which have been ratified by the Senate within the last twenty years. Have any been rejected?
9. What is the smallest number of Senators who at the present time can pass a bill? Confirm an appointment? Ratify a treaty?
10. Prepare a report upon the impeachment trial of Andrew Johnson. (Sherman, *Recollections*, I, pp. 413–432; Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress*, II, pp. 341–384; Cox, *Three Decades of Federal Legislation*, pp. 578–594.)
11. May a Senator be appointed to a federal office which was created during his term as Senator? (Constitution, Art. I, Sec. 6, Par. 2.)
12. How many congressional districts in your State? How do these compare in area and population? Is the division a fair one, or has the gerrymander been employed in the interest of the dominant political party?
13. Who is your Representative? To which political party does he belong? Length of his service in Congress? Previous political experience? When does his term expire?
14. What is the number of your congressional district? What counties does it comprise? Which political party generally carries the district?
15. Was your Representative nominated by a party convention or by a direct primary? Which is the better method?

16. Compare the special powers of the House of Representatives with the special powers of the lower branch of your State legislature.
17. What is the smallest number of Representatives who can pass a bill for the first time? Over the President's veto?
18. What qualifications are required in your State in order to permit one to vote for a United States Representative? How are these qualifications determined?
19. Compare the term and qualifications of a United States Representative with those of your representative in the State legislature.
20. What are the advantages and disadvantages of our practice of requiring a Representative to reside in the district which elects him?
21. Contrast the procedure in the House of Representatives with that in the British House of Commons (Kaye, P. L., *Readings*, pp. 149–155.)
22. What is the number of the present Congress? When does its term begin and end? When is the long session? The short session?
23. Which political party has control in each house? Name prominent party leaders in each house.
24. Contrast the position of the Speaker of the House with that of the President of the Senate.
25. Who is the Speaker of the present House? From what State does he come? Are Speakers frequently reëlected? What Speaker served longest in this position?
26. What are the advantages and defects of the committee system of legislation?
27. Name the most important committees of each branch of Congress, and their chairmen. (See the latest Congressional Directory.)
28. Contrast the rules of the Senate and House concerning debate.
29. Prepare an outline showing (*a*) the principal subjects of federal legislation; (*b*) of State legislation; (*c*) of local legislation.
30. What do you understand by each of the following terms: the lobby; filibustering; logrolling; party caucuses; strike bills; riders?



THE WHITE HOUSE

This was the first public building erected after the seat of government was moved to Washington. The corner-stone was laid by President Washington, Oct. 13, 1792. The first President to occupy it was John Adams, in 1800. Alterations and additions were made in 1902–3 and a new building for the Executive Offices erected; this is connected with the White House by an esplanade.



THE STATE, WAR, AND NAVY DEPARTMENTS

This structure ranks with the largest and most magnificent office buildings in the world. It has five hundred rooms and two miles of marble halls.

THE POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT

THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT

This is second only to the National Capitol itself in architectural importance.

CHAPTER XV

THE PRESIDENT AND HIS CABINET

192. The President's Position and Powers. The commanding figure in our national government is the President. Elected as the representative of a free nation to enforce its laws, he is more powerful than the ruler of any old-world monarchy. He appoints the principal executive officers of our government, directs their work, and removes them at his discretion. He wields the entire military power of the Republic, and may set fleets and armies in motion. He conducts our intercourse with foreign nations, appoints and receives ambassadors, and concludes treaties. Finally, his veto upon legislation will thwart even the will of Congress; for the constitution authorizes and the people expect him to weigh every legislative act, and judge for himself whether the proposed law will promote the public welfare.

193. National Nominating Conventions. The presidential election is held in November[1] of each fourth year, the voters casting their ballots for candidates previously nominated by party conventions. In the early summer of the presidential years, each political party holds its national conven-

Selection of delegates

[1] The presidential election is held on the Tuesday following the first Monday in November of each fourth year, counting from 1900. The election of Congressmen is held on the same day of every second year; so that every other congressional election is held on the same day as the presidential election.

tion for the nomination of presidential candidates. Over one thousand delegates attend the convention, since each State and territory sends twice as many delegates as it has members in Congress. It is customary to hold the national conventions in immense auditoriums, so as to accommodate ten or fifteen thousand spectators, in addition to nearly two thousand delegates and alternates.

The two principal duties of the convention are the adoption of a platform and the nomination of candidates. The platform is a formal statement of the party's attitude on questions of the day.

The process of nomination

After the adoption of the platform, the next step is the selection of candidates. Usually eight or ten names are placed before the convention, each name being received with prolonged cheering on the part of the delegates and spectators. The roll of the States is then called alphabetically, and the chairman of each State delegation in turn announces the vote of his State. Sometimes a candidate is nominated by acclamation, but as a rule many ballots are necessary to decide the contest. If none of the leading candidates is successful on the first few ballots, a "dark horse" or comparatively obscure man may finally be named as a compromise candidate.

After the pandemonium which follows the nomination has subsided, — generally after a recess, — the convention proceeds in the same manner to nominate a candidate for the vice-presidency. This nomination seldom receives the careful consideration which it deserves. It is often given to a man in the hope that he may be able to

Nominating a Vice-President

carry a doubtful State, or to placate a faction in the party which has been opposed to the presidential nominee.

194. The Presidential Campaign. After each party has nominated its candidates for President and Vice-President, popular interest centers in the campaign waged from the time the convention adjourns until the election in November. Campaign funds which run into the millions are raised, political meetings are held in every State and city, stump speakers address the voters, the newspapers take sides and often become bitterly partisan, an immense number of circulars, campaign "text-books," and other advertisements are sent out from the national headquarters, political clubs are organized, and every effort is made by each party to influence the voters in favor of its candidates. All of this work is carried on by the national party committee chosen by the nominating convention to manage the political campaign.

195. Election of a President. Following the nominating convention and the campaign, there are three steps in the election of a President. The first takes place on the Tuesday following the first Monday in November. On this day the voters cast their ballots for presidential electors, each State having as many electors as it has Senators and Representatives in Congress. In each State, the official ballot contains two or more lists of presidential electors, generally printed beneath the party name and emblem. If the Republican electors in Pennsylvania, for example, receive a plurality of the popular vote in that State, it is understood that they will cast the thirty-eight

Presidential electors

electoral votes of Pennsylvania for the Republican candidates for President and Vice-President. If Democratic electors are chosen in Texas, they will of course cast the twenty electoral votes of that State for the Democratic candidates.

196. Second Step in electing a President. Since the electors are nominated for the express purpose of voting for the party's candidates, the presidential election is really decided when the electors are chosen. But the framers of the constitution expected that the electors would deliberate, and select from the principal candidates for the presidency and the vice-presidency, the men best qualified for the office. They could not foresee the rise of political parties, or anticipate that the party system would prevent the electors from using any discretion in casting their votes.

Meeting of the electors

Accordingly, the electors meet and cast their votes as prescribed by the constitution, even though their voting is a mere form. In each State, the successful electors meet at the State capital about two months after the presidential election, and cast the vote of their State for President and for Vice-President. Ordinarily this meeting of the electors attracts little attention, for the outcome is usually known the day after the electors are chosen in November.

197. Third Step in electing a President. Finally, the third step consists in counting the electoral votes at Washington, the vote of each State having been forwarded for that purpose. On the second Wednesday in February, both houses of Congress assemble in the hall of the House of Repre-

Counting the electoral votes

sentatives; and in the presence of both houses, the electoral vote of each State is opened by the President of the Senate, and counted. The result of the election is then formally announced, a majority of all the electoral votes being necessary to a choice.[1]

198. Election by the House of Representatives. If no candidate has a majority of the electoral votes, the House of Representatives proceeds to elect a President from the three candidates having the highest number of electoral votes. The vote in the House is taken by States, the delegation from each commonwealth having one vote; and a majority of all the States is necessary to a choice.[2] In case the House does not choose a President before the 4th of March, the newly elected Vice-President becomes President.

Vote by States

If no candidate for Vice-President receives a majority of the electoral votes, the Senate elects a Vice-President from the two candidates having the largest electoral vote.

199. The Inaugural Ceremony. The President-elect usually goes to Washington a short time before March 4th, on which day the inaugural ceremony occurs. On the day of the inauguration, he is escorted by the committee in charge to the Executive Mansion or White House; and then, accompanied by the outgoing President, he proceeds to the Capitol.

The constitution requires that before entering upon

[1] At present the total number of electoral votes in 531, so that 266 votes are necessary to elect a President or a Vice-President.

[2] Jefferson in 1800, and John Quincy Adams in 1824, were elected by the House of Representatives, no candidate having been chosen by the electors.

his duties the President shall take the following oath:

Oath of office

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

A platform is erected on the east front of the Capitol, and here in the presence of immense throngs of people the oath is administered by the Chief Justice of the United States. The President then delivers an address outlining his proposed policies. This concludes the inaugural ceremony proper, after which the President returns to the White House, and reviews a procession which is generally several hours in passing.

Inaugural address

200. **Presidential Term, Salary, and Qualifications.** The President is elected for a term of four years, and popular Presidents are sometimes chosen for a second term.[1] Both Washington and Jefferson refused a third term, thus establishing a precedent which probably will prevent any President from being chosen for a third term.

Term

The President receives a salary of $75,000 a year, and Congress makes an appropriation for certain expenses incidental to the presidential office. The annual salary of the Vice-President is $12,000.

Salary

The constitution requires that the President shall

[1] Nine Presidents have been reëlected as their own successors, namely: Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, Lincoln, Grant, McKinley, and Wilson; President Cleveland was reëlected after an intervening term; and Roosevelt was elected President after he had succeeded to the office upon the assassination of McKinley.

be a native-born citizen of the United States, at least thirty-five years of age, and a resident of the United States for fourteen years.[1] As a rule, only men of proven ability and experience in political life are chosen for this high office. On a few occasions, the great prize has gone to a prominent general because of his military record, and sometimes to a comparatively obscure candidate nominated because it was thought that he could probably win the election.

Qualifications

201. The Presidential Succession. If the President dies, his place is taken by the Vice-President, who is chosen at the same time, and who usually belongs to the same political party. The vice-presidency was created for the purpose of providing a successor to the President in case of the death, resignation, or removal of that officer.[2] Five times in our history has the Vice-President succeeded the President. By the death of Harrison in 1841 and of Taylor in 1850, Tyler and Fillmore, respectively, became Presidents. By the assassination of Lincoln in 1865, of Garfield in 1881, and of McKinley in 1901, Johnson, Arthur, and Roosevelt, respectively, succeeded to the presidency.

The vice-presidency

In case of the death of both President and Vice-President, Congress has provided by law for the succession of the cabinet officers in the following order: Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of War, Attorney-General,

Succession by cabinet officers

[1] The Vice-President must have the same qualifications, since he may succeed to the presidency.

[2] The Vice-President also presides over the Senate.

Postmaster-General, Secretary of the Navy, Secretary of the Interior.

202. Military Powers. By virtue of his office, the President is commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States when called into federal service. He appoints and commissions all officers, and through the Secretary of War issues orders for the disposition of the military and naval forces. He may send a fleet of United States battleships on a cruise around the globe, as did President Roosevelt; or may order troops to the Mexican border, as was done by President Wilson. Power to declare war is vested solely in Congress; but the President may so conduct our foreign policy as to make war almost inevitable.

President as commander-in-chief

In time of actual war, the President's powers as commander-in-chief are almost unlimited. He may call for volunteers, order out the militia from the several States, authorize a draft if these forces prove inadequate, declare our ports blockaded, and proclaim martial law. It is not expected that the President will take the field in person, but through the Department of War he directs all movements and plans all campaigns. During the Civil War, President Lincoln, with the approval of Congress, exercised almost unlimited powers. Upon our entry into the World War in 1917, President Wilson wielded powers still more vast, without which the final victory could not have been won.

War powers

203. Duty to enforce the Laws. The foremost duty of the President is to take care that the laws of

Congress are faithfully executed. Ordinarily, our laws are enforced by civil officers; offenders against federal laws are arrested by United States marshals and tried in the national courts. In case of serious disorder which cannot be suppressed by the marshal and his deputies, the President may employ regular troops, or call out the militia. For example, during the railway strikes of 1877 and 1894, the President ordered out regular troops to protect government property, and to make possible the transportation of the mail.

Methods of law enforcement

In case of violence which the State militia cannot suppress, the President will send federal troops to any State on request of the governor or State legislature; for the federal constitution declares that it shall be the duty of the United States to protect each State against foreign invasion or domestic violence.

Protection of the States

204. The President's Appointing Power. For the first few weeks after the inauguration, a new President often receives more than fifteen hundred letters a day. A large part of this enormous mail is from men who want office; and a great many applicants go to Washington for a personal interview with the President. The situation is not quite so bad as in the days of William Henry Harrison, who, it is said, was harried to death by the place-hunters; but the matter of appointments is a serious tax on the time and strength of the new President.

The army of office-seekers

Subject to approval by the Senate, the President appoints about ten thousand federal officers, includ-

ing cabinet officers, ambassadors, consuls, federal judges, district attorneys, United States marshals, military and naval officers, land agents, Indian agents, and many others. Before making an appointment, the President ordinarily confers with the Senators from the State in which the appointee lives, provided the Senators belong to the same political party as the President. That is to say, if a Republican President is about to appoint a citizen of New York to a federal office, he first consults the Senators from New York (if they are Republicans); for, as a rule, the Senate will not confirm an appointment unless it is approved by the Senators from the State in which the appointee lives.[1]

How appointments are made

205. The Spoils System. In earlier times, beginning with Jackson's first administration (1829–1833), the "Spoils System" prevailed, under which public offices were used as rewards for faithful party service. "To the victors," declared Senator W. L. Marcy of New York, "belong the spoils of the enemy." As a result of turning out government officials at the beginning of each new administration, and appointing men chosen from personal and political motives, the public service became greatly demoralized.

206. Civil Service Reform. Public opinion at length compelled a change; and in 1883 Congress passed the Civil Service Act, which makes appointment to office, as well as tenure and

Act of 1883

[1] This is the so-called rule of "Senatorial courtesy," by which is meant that the Senate as a body will not confirm an appointee who is objectionable to the Senators from the State in which the appointee lives. In practice the rule gives the Senators a large share in the power of appointment, and enables them to control the patronage (appointments) of their own State.

promotion, depend upon efficiency, rather than upon party service. This act establishes a Civil Service Commission of three members, who conduct competitive examinations for all positions in the classified service. Appointments are made from those applicants whose papers are graded highest on the civil service examination; and appointees cannot be removed except for inefficiency.

About three fifths of the total number of employees of the national government are now under civil service rules. The merit system of appointment has greatly improved the public service; and a similar plan has been adopted in many cities for appointments to municipal office.

207. The President's Power of Removal. As a rule, the officers appointed by the President may be removed by him for reasons which he deems sufficient. Cabinet officers serve during his pleasure; federal marshals, district attorneys, land agents, and postmasters in the larger cities, generally serve for four years, unless the President sees fit to replace them. Subordinate officials under the civil service hold office as long as they serve efficiently. Federal judges, as we shall see in the next chapter, are appointed for life, and can be removed only by impeachment.

208. Diplomatic Powers. Foreign relations are entrusted to the President and the Senate. The President appoints our foreign representatives, the ambassadors and ministers, who act as diplomatic representatives; and the consuls, who look after our commercial interests abroad. These

Ambassadors and consuls

appointments must be confirmed by a majority vote of the Senate.

The President, acting through the Secretary of State, negotiates treaties with foreign countries. The Secretary of State generally carries on treaty negotiations with the representative of the foreign power resident at Washington, although sometimes treaties are negotiated through our minister at the foreign capital. The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations is usually consulted by the President while negotiations are in progress, otherwise the Senate may disapprove the treaty, as sometimes happens. In order to become binding, treaties must receive the affirmative vote of two thirds of the Senate.

Negotiation of treaties

209. The President's Powers in Legislation. Although primarily an executive officer, the President has three important powers in legislation. (1) In case of emergency, he may summon Congress to meet in special session. (2) He has the power to recommend to Congress legislation which he considers desirable. This the President does by sending a carefully prepared annual message to Congress; and he also submits special messages from time to time, as occasion demands. (3) Finally, the President has the important power of veto upon any measure passed by Congress. This veto may be overcome if each house of Congress again passes the measure by a two-thirds vote; but in practice few measures can be passed over the veto (Sec. 189).

210. The Pardoning Power. The President has the power to pardon offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment. He may also

grant reprieves, that is, suspend the execution of a sentence which has been imposed.

211. The President's Cabinet. Ten federal executive departments have been created by Congress to assist the President in his work. The heads of these departments are appointed by the President, and form his cabinet. They hold office during his pleasure, and are his confidential advisers. The cabinet meets twice a week at the White House to discuss important public business. Special meetings are called as needed, and the President advises frequently with individual cabinet officers.

The executive departments were organized by Congress in the following order: State, 1789; War, 1789; Treasury, 1789; Post Office, 1794; Navy, 1798; Interior, 1849; Justice, 1870; Agriculture, 1889; Commerce, 1903; Labor, 1913.

212. Executive Departments. The Secretary of State ranks first among the members of the cabinet. His chief duty is to conduct the foreign affairs of the government under the direction of the President. The Secretary of State also has charge of the publication of federal statutes and executive proclamations. Department of State

The Secretary of the Treasury supervises the national finances, and keeps a record of all receipts and expenditures of public funds. He looks after the making of paper money, controls the mints, collects internal revenue and customs duties, inspects the national banks, and supervises the construction of public buildings erected by the federal government. Treasury Department

The Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy have charge of all matters pertaining to the army and navy. Each of these Secretaries is the direct representative of the President, who under the constitution is commander in-chief of the army and the navy of the United States.

War and Navy Departments

The Attorney-General is the head of the Department of Justice. He is the legal adviser of the President and the cabinet officers, and represents the government in all cases to which the United States is a party.

Department of Justice

The Postmaster-General has charge of the postal service, with its army of three hundred thousand employees. The Secretary of the Interior has charge of the public lands, pensions, patents, copyrights, Indian affairs, and the educational work carried on by the national government. He also manages the forest reserves, allots farms under the Homestead Act, and supervises the construction of irrigation projects.

Post-Office and Interior Departments

The Secretary of Agriculture directs the investigations and experiments designed to give farmers useful information concerning soils, grains, fruits, and stock. This department has charge of the inspection of domestic meats and imported food products. One of its most important branches is the weather bureau, which renders valuable service in forecasting storms, thereby preventing heavy losses to agriculture and commerce.

Department of Agriculture

The Secretary of Commerce aims to develop the commerce and industries of the United States. This

department has charge of the census, of the bureau of fisheries, the bureau of standards, of steamboat inspection, lighthouses, and other agencies for the protection of commerce.

Department of Commerce

The Secretary of Labor collects and publishes information upon all subjects connected with labor, especially its relation to capital, the hours and wages of labor, and the means of advancing the interests of the laboring classes. The department serves the general public, as well as labor and capital, by endeavoring to preserve industrial peace, and to adjust labor disputes through conciliation. In this department is the bureau of immigration, which supervises the administration of our immigration laws. There is also a children's bureau, which investigates matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life, such as the employment of children in industry.

Department of Labor

QUESTIONS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Which method of electing the President do you consider best? Give reasons.
2. How many members in the electoral college at present? How is this number fixed? What number of electoral votes is necessary to a choice?
3. How many electors has your State? Which political party generally carries your State in presidential elections?
4. What qualifications are required in your State to entitle one to vote at presidential elections?
5. Who were the candidates at the last presidential election? How were they nominated? Who were the candidates for Vice-President?
6. What electoral vote was received by each of the three principal candidates? What was the popular vote for each?
7. What was the previous public service of our President before his election to the presidency? Are successful governors often nominated for the presidency?

8. Name the Presidents who received a minority of the popular vote.
9. Prepare a report upon the presidential elections of 1800 and 1824.
10. Prepare a report upon the disputed election of 1876.
11. Explain how the President may involve the country in war, notwithstanding the right to declare war is vested in Congress.
12. Report upon the President's power to suppress domestic violence, as shown by President Cleveland's action in 1894. (McClure's *Magazine* (1904), XXIII, pp. 227–240.)
13. Has the Senate any control over removals? Why should the President alone exercise the power of removal?
14. Compare the President's power of appointment with that of your State governor; of your mayor.
15. Make the same comparison with regard to the President's power of removal.
16. May an official of the United States at the same time hold office under a State or territorial government?
17. Prepare a report upon the Spoils System.
18. Prepare a report upon Civil Service Reform.
19. May the President sign a bill after Congress adjourns?
20. What would be the advantage of giving the President power to veto part of a bill? How could this power be granted?
21. How are cabinet officers appointed and confirmed? How may they be removed?
22. Name the members of our present cabinet.
23. Name several of our greatest Secretaries of State.
24. Describe the work of the secret-service bureau. (Wilkie, John E., in *History-Making*, pp. 21–28.)
25. Report upon the work of the bureau of the mint. (Leach, Frank A., in *History-Making*, pp. 133–137.)
26. Describe the work of the reclamation service. (Newell, E. H. in *History-Making*, pp. 188–190.)
27. Describe the work of the weather bureau. (Moore, W. L., in *History-Making*, pp. 149–154.)
28. In what ways does the federal government promote agriculture?
29. Prepare a report upon the Congressional Library. (Putnam, Herbert, in *History-Making*, pp. 138–148.)
30. Discuss the work of the Civil Service Commission. (Kaye. P. L., *Readings in Civil Government*, pp. 232–242; Reinsch, P. S., *Readings*, pp. 683–702.)

CHAPTER XVI

THE FEDERAL COURTS

213. The Supreme Court Chamber. One of the most interesting and impressive sights at Washington is the Supreme Court of the United States in session. This court meets amid historic surroundings; for its chamber in the Capitol was the meeting-place of the United State Senate during the first fifty years of our national life. Here Thomas Jefferson, the first President to be inaugurated at the Capitol, delivered his address and took the oath of office. Here in October, 1803, the Senate confirmed the treaty with Napoleon by which we acquired the imperial domain known as the Louisiana Purchase. Here the Senate met when war was declared against Great Britain in 1812, and against Mexico in 1846. Here on December 2, 1823, the celebrated Monroe Doctrine was first proclaimed to the world in a message from President Monroe. This hall was also a silent witness of the memorable debate between Webster of Massachusetts and Hayne of South Carolina, in which the eloquent advocate of State rights was pitted against the great apostle of "the Union, one and inseparable."

214. Sessions of the Supreme Court. Since 1859 this old Senate chamber, remodeled, has been used as the Supreme Court room. Here sessions of the Supreme Court are held daily, from the second Monday in October until late in the

Ceremony of opening court

following spring. At precisely twelve o'clock noon on the days that court is in session, nine venerable justices in black robes enter the chamber, and the court crier announces: "The Honorable the Chief Justice and the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States!" Officials, attorneys, and spectators respectfully stand until the court is seated, when the crier calls: "Oyez,[1] oyez, oyez! All persons having business before the Honorable the Supreme Court of the United States are admonished to draw near and give their attention, for the Court is now sitting. God save the United States and this Honorable Court!"

215. How the Court hears and decides Cases. Only attorneys who have practiced at least three years in the courts of their own States may argue a case before the Supreme Court of the United States. In presenting an argument, counsel addresses the court in a voice seldom raised above a conversational tone; for this tribunal is not moved by oratory. After counsel for each side has presented his argument, the court takes the case under consideration, and announces its decision at a later day. In addition to hearing the oral arguments of counsel, each justice has before him a printed copy of the briefs,[2] and the entire record of the case.

Presentation of arguments

Saturday of each week is conference day, on which no open sessions of the court are held. At these conferences, the cases which have been

Conference day

[1] *Oyez:* Old French for "Hear ye."

[2] The "brief" is the argument of counsel, supported by citation of legal decisions and authorities. In cases carried up to the Supreme Court, the brief is printed, and a copy submitted to each justice for his consideration.

submitted are called by the Chief Justice, and discussed fully and freely. Each justice is expected to have examined the record and briefs, and to be prepared to state his individual opinion. After the case has been fully discussed, the roll is called by the Chief Justice, and a vote is taken on affirming or reversing the decision of the lower court.

After the conference is over, the Chief Justice assigns to individual justices the duty of preparing the written opinions. Each justice to whom a case has been assigned writes an opinion in accordance with the views of the majority of the court, supporting it by arguments and citation of authorities. This opinion is afterwards read and discussed in conference, and if approved by a majority of the justices (at least five of the nine concurring), it is announced as the decision of the court. These decisions are published in volumes known as the United States Reports, which are consulted by attorneys and judges throughout the Union; for they contain the opinions of highest authority upon the meaning and interpretation of our laws.

Writing the opinion

No other court in the world has so much power as the Supreme Court of the United States; for as we shall see later, this tribunal may set aside even the acts of Congress, as well as the laws of any State, if these are in conflict with the national constitution, our supreme law.

Power of the Supreme Court

216. The Three Grades of Federal Courts. The Supreme Court of the United States is the highest court in the land, the court of last resort. Below it are nine circuit courts of appeals, and seventy-eight

district courts. The district courts are the lowest courts of the federal judicial system, and in them most cases coming before the federal courts are begun and first tried. The decisions of the district courts are subject to correction by the next higher court, the circuit court of appeals. As a rule, the decrees of this court are final; and only the most important cases may be carried up to the Supreme Court.

217. Cases Tried in the Federal Courts. Ordinarily the national courts do not try the same kind of cases as the State courts, but only those in which the nature of the controversy makes it desirable to have the final decision made by a national, rather than by a State, tribunal. For example, suits between citizens of different States, cases arising under the revenue, patent, and copyright laws, and all cases involving the meaning or constitutionality of a law of Congress, may be brought before the national courts for decision. In all, there are nine classes of cases which the national courts hear and decide; these are enumerated in the federal constitution (Art. III, Sec. 2).

Nine classes of cases

218. Deciding whether Laws are Constitutional. Courts of justice exist primarily to protect individual rights, and to punish those who break the laws. In our country, the courts exercise another power which gives them a position of great importance. If an act passed by the legislature is involved in a case brought before it, the court will decide whether the act is in accordance with the constitution. In other words, the court sits in judgment on the so-called law, and decides whether it is in fact

Unique power of American courts

a law, or a measure which is void and of no effect because in conflict with the constitution. This power makes the courts the guardians and defenders of the constitution, our supreme law, with which all acts of the legislature and executive must be in accord.

This function of the judiciary was clearly stated by Chief Justice Marshall in one of the earliest cases[1] brought before the Supreme Court: "It is emphatically the province and duty of the judicial department to say what the law is. Those who apply the rule to particular cases must of necessity expound and interpret that rule. If two laws conflict with each other, the courts must decide on the operation of each.

Chief Justice Marshall's opinion

"So if a law be in opposition to the Constitution; if both the law and the Constitution apply to a particular case, so that the court must either decide that case conformably to the law, disregarding the Constitution, or conformably to the Constitution, disregarding the law, the court must determine which of these conflicting rules governs the case. This is of the very essence of judicial duty.

"If, then, the courts are to regard the Constitution, and the Constitution is superior to any ordinary act of the legislature, the Constitution, and not such ordinary act, must govern the case to which they both apply."

Each year many State laws, and even provisions of the State constitutions, are declared void by the United States Supreme Court because of conflict with the federal constitution. In this way the States are prevented from encroaching

Unconstitutional measures

[1] Marbury *v.* Madison, 1 Cranch, p. 137.

upon the powers of the national government. From time to time, acts of Congress are set aside by the Supreme Court for the same reason, thus keeping our national legislature and executive within the bounds prescribed by the constitution. Two of the most famous decisions disallowing acts of Congress are the Dred Scott Case, decided in 1857, denying the power of Congress to prohibit slavery in the territories; and the Income Tax Case (1895), in which the federal tax on incomes was declared unconstitutional.

219. **Federal Judges.** Judges of the federal courts are appointed by the President with the approval of the Senate. It is of the utmost importance that the judiciary be fearless and impartial in all of its decisions; and hence provisions were inserted in the constitution designed to make the judges independent of both Congress and the President. Federal judges hold office for life, or during good behavior; they cannot be removed from office except through the process of impeachment; and their compensation cannot be decreased during their term of office.

Independent position

The Justices of the Supreme Court are paid $14,500 a year (the Chief Justice receiving an additional $500); circuit judges receive $8,500; and district judges $7,500. Any federal judge who has served at least ten years may resign on attaining the age of seventy years, and draw full salary during the remainder of his life.

Compensation

220. **Other Judicial Officers.** In each of the numerous judicial districts, there is a district attorney, also a marshal and a clerk. The district attorney prose-

cutes offenders against the laws of Congress, and defends cases to which the United States is a party. The marshal, like the sheriff, enforces the decrees of the court. If resisted, he may call a *posse* of citizens to his aid, or he may ask for federal troops if necessary. District attorneys and marshals are under the direction of the United States Attorney-General, as head of the Department of Justice.

District attorney, marshal, clerk

Throughout the country at suitable points, and mainly in the principal cities, there are United States commissioners, who are federal officials corresponding to the justices of the peace in our State governments. Persons accused of violating federal laws are brought before the commissioners, who decide whether they shall be held to await the action of the federal grand jury. The commissioners also have certain powers in maritime cases.

United States commissioners

221. **The Court of Claims.** Suit cannot be brought against the United States as in the case of an individual; but persons having claims against the national government may present them to the Court of Claims. This is a special tribunal consisting of five judges, who sit at Washington. If the decision of this court is in favor of the claimant, the award may be authorized by Congress, and the money paid from the federal treasury.

QUESTIONS FOR INVESTIGATION

1 What territory is included in your federal judicial district? Where is the court held? Name the district judge, the district attorney, and the marshal. For what term and by whom is each appointed?

2. Name the justices of our present Supreme Court. Name the men who have held the position of chief justice. Who are the most famous?
3. Compare the method of appointment and the term of federal judges with that of the judges of your State supreme court.
4. What are the advantages of life tenure for judges? (Kaye, P. L., *Readings in Civil Government*, pp. 247–250.)
5. Describe the process by which the United States Supreme Court renders a decision. By whom is the decision written, by whom reported, and where published? (Reinsch, P. S., *Readings*, pp. 716–717.)
6. Should judges hold other positions outside their office?
7. What is meant by an injunction?
8. What is the meaning of "contempt of court"?
9. Why are judgeships in the higher courts considered non-political offices?
10. Why do judges hold "hearings"?

CHAPTER XVII

COMMERCE AND MONEY

222. Commercial Powers of Congress. Our national constitution vests in Congress the power "to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes."[1] Under this provision, each State retains control of the commerce wholly within its boundaries. But commerce which passes beyond State boundaries into another State, called interstate commerce, is controlled by the national government; and the same is true of foreign commerce, or that carried on with other countries.

Foreign and interstate commerce

The term "commerce" as used in the constitution has been broadly construed by the Supreme Court. It includes traffic, or the purchase and sale of goods, and also navigation and intercourse whether by land or water, together with all the means or agencies by which such intercourse is carried on. Transportation of persons, as well as freight, is included within its terms.

Definition of commerce

223. Subject-Matter of this Chapter. The control of foreign commerce by Congress has been exercised chiefly with reference to three subjects, — navigation, the tariff, and immigration. Besides these three topics, we shall study in this chapter three of the

[1] Constitution, Art. I, Sec. 8, Par. 3.

most important agencies by which commerce is carried on, namely, railroads, money, and the post-office.

224. Navigation. Navigation between the United States and foreign countries, as well as between the States of the Union, is subject to the control of Congress. Accordingly, Congress has established rules of navigation, including the law of the road at sea, the maritime system of lights and signals, port and quarantine regulations.[1] Coast surveys are made, and dangerous reefs charted; lighthouses and life-saving stations are maintained for the protection of commerce. You have no doubt read of the heroic work of the life-saving crews which are ready at a moment's notice to rescue the passengers of ships in distress.

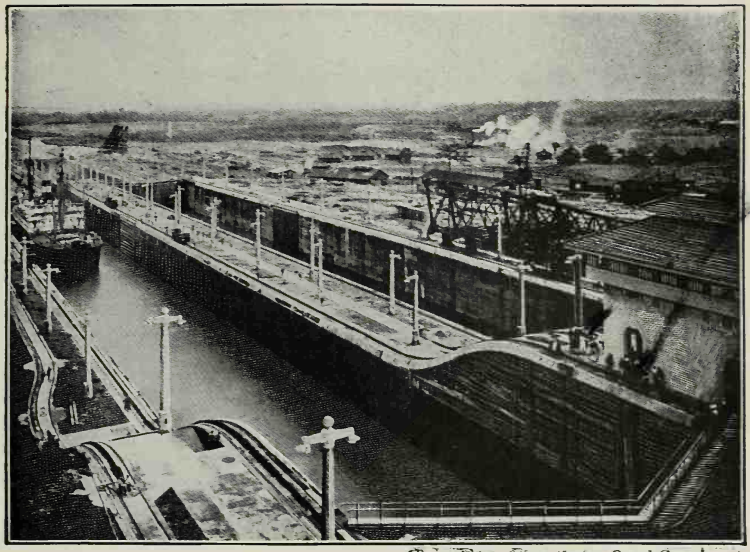
Means of protecting commerce

225. River and Harbor Improvements. The improvement of rivers and harbors is another important means of aiding navigation, and for this purpose the national government spends many millions each year. Each member of Congress naturally desires to secure the improvement of the navigable waterways in his district; and a great deal of money has been wasted on the improvement of streams of slight importance to the commerce of the country.

On the other hand, many extensive improvements have been undertaken which have greatly aided commerce. Examples of these are the breakwaters and piers at Chicago, Cleveland, Buffalo, and Milwaukee; the jetty system at the mouth of the Mississippi, and other gulf ports; and

Aids to commerce

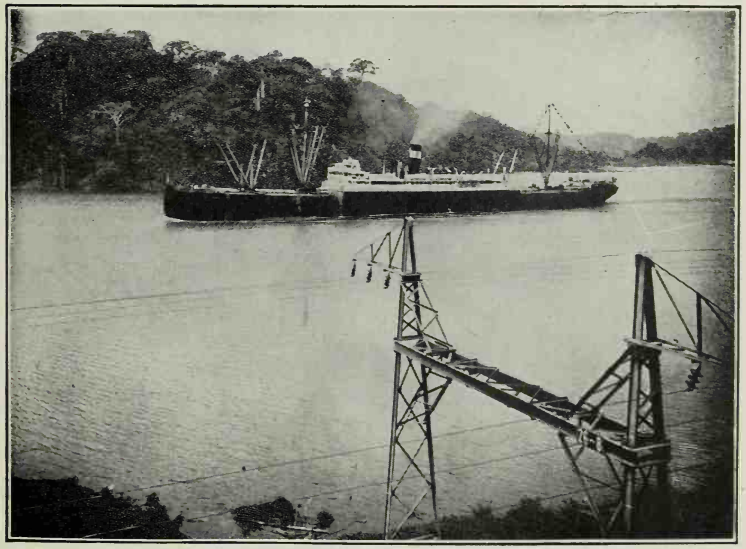
[1] For example, numerous ports along our seacoast are designated as ports of entry for the collection of customs; and at these ports all vessels are required to enter and clear.



(By courtesy of the Isthmian Canal Commission)

OPENING OF THE PANAMA CANAL

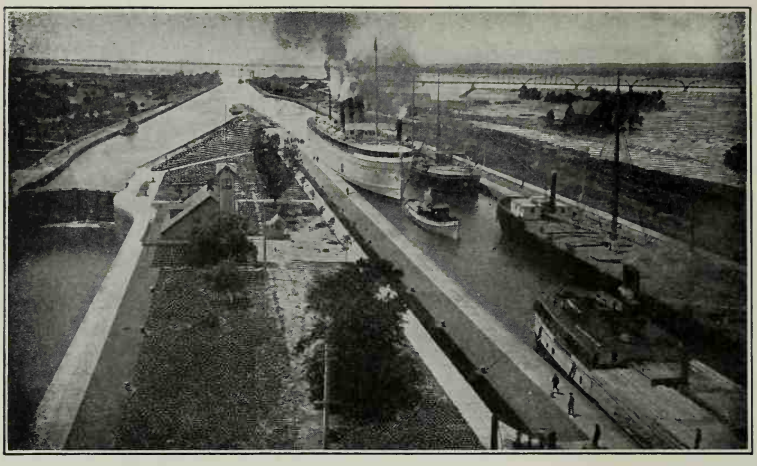
S.S. Ancon in the West Chamber, Gatun middle locks, August 15, 1914.



(By courtesy of the Isthmian Canal Commission)

OPENING OF THE PANAMA CANAL

S.S. Ancon on Gatun Lake, August 15, 1914



A LOCK IN THE SAULT STE. MARIE SHIP CANAL

The canal connects Lake Superior with St. Mary's River and Lake Huron. It is about three miles in length and has two locks. The depth of water is sufficient to allow the passage of vessels of about 12,000 tons displacement.

Courtesy, Commissioner of Bridges.

A PART OF THE QUEENSBORO BRIDGE, NEW YORK

This bridge connects Manhattan Borough and Queen's Borough.

The total cost of real estate and construction was $17,000,000. The bridge is of the cantilever type, with three spans, of which the longest is 1182 feet. The total length of the bridge, including approaches, is 7449 feet. The bridge carries roadways, trolley tracks, and elevated railway tracks. Its clear height above high water is 135 feet. The flag poles on the towers are 406 feet above the river.

the levees or artificial dikes along the Mississippi. Canals have been constructed to connect interstate waters, and to permit navigation around waterfalls. The largest of these is the Sault Ste. Marie Ship Canal, which connects the waters of Lake Superior with those of St. Mary's River and Lake Huron, around the falls in the river.

All river and harbor improvements are carried on under the direction of the Secretary of War, aided by engineers of the United States Army.

226. The Panama Canal. The Panama Canal is the greatest project yet undertaken by the United States for the promotion of commerce. The canal is about fifty miles in length, from deep water in the Caribbean Sea to deep water in the Pacific Ocean. This great waterway shortens the distance between the eastern and western coasts of the United States, and in this way aids our commerce, especially with South America and the Orient. It also affords better naval protection by permitting the quick passage of our warships from coast to coast. Our work on the Panama Canal was begun in May, 1904; the Canal was opened to commerce in August, 1914.

227. Tariff Duties. Tariff duties constitute one of the most important means by which Congress regulates our foreign commerce. Tariff or customs duties are taxes levied on goods brought into the United States from abroad. These duties may be levied solely to secure revenue for the government, in which case they are called revenue tariffs. More often they are designed to protect domestic industries from foreign competition; such a

Revenue and protective tariffs

system of duties is called a protective tariff. For example, if a suit of clothes made in London must pay a duty of fifty per cent of its value on being imported into the United States, the importer adds the amount of the duty to the price of the garments. So the foreign manufacturer is placed at a disadvantage in his effort to compete with the American manufacturer in our markets; and the American manufacturer is protected to the extent of the duty levied.

228. **The Policy of Protection.** Throughout a great part of our history, especially since the Civil War, it has been the policy of the United States to levy high protective tariffs. Many persons believe that our industries are now so well established that they no longer need the protection afforded by a high rate of duties; and that the great body of consumers would be benefited by lowering the rates. They argue that the American manufacturer can produce goods as cheaply as his foreign competitor; and that our manufacturers — in many cases immense corporations — are reaping the benefit of the tariff duties, since they can add the amount of the duty to the price of the product.

In many campaigns this question of a protective tariff has been an issue between the political parties, although it is really an economic, rather than a political question. A low rate of duties, or a revenue tariff, has generally been favored by the Democratic party. The Republican party has been the champion of protection, although some Republicans believe that on many commodities, high rates of duty are no longer necessary.

Attitude of political parties

229. **The Control of Immigration.** Commerce in its

broadest sense includes the transportation of persons as well as commodities; hence under its commercial power, Congress regulates immigration to the United States. It has always been the policy of this country to welcome to our shores the honest men and women of other lands who wish to come here; and our country's wonderful development would have been impossible without the brain and muscle of the millions of immigrants who have turned to America as to the land of opportunity.

At times this hospitality has been abused; European governments have been known to use the United States as a dumping-ground for convicts, paupers, anarchists, and other undesirable citizens. Hence in 1882 Congress passed laws excluding from this country the pauper, criminal, and insane classes of aliens, also anarchists, persons suffering from contagious disease, and Chinese laborers. The World War clearly revealed the need of additional restrictions until the millions of foreign-born persons already here should become thoroughly Americanized. The law passed by Congress in 1921 limited the number of immigrants during the following year to three per cent of the foreign-born persons of each nationality already in the United States.

Classes excluded

230. **General Characteristics of Immigration.** Certain general characteristics of our immigration are especially important. Foremost among these is the great increase in the number of immigrants. Since 1820 there has been a steady increase, until prior to the World War, nearly a million immigrants entered our country each year.

Increase in numbers

Even more important than this large increase in numbers is the marked change in the source of our immigration. Formerly the great majority of immigrants came from countries allied to us in race or language — from Great Britain, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries. Only a small proportion came from the peoples of southern and eastern Europe who are allied to us in neither language nor race. But since 1880, the immigration from southeastern Europe has rapidly increased, while that from northern Europe has relatively declined. At present northwestern Europe sends only about one fifth of our total immigration, while southeastern Europe sends nearly four fifths, most of which comes from Poland, the Balkan states, Italy, and Russia.

Change in source

With this change in the sources of our immigration, there has been a corresponding change in the character of the immigrants themselves. The immigrants from northern Europe were better educated, more familiar with representative government, and in many cases were skilled artisans and mechanics. In contrast with them, a large proportion of the immigrants from southeastern Europe are illiterate, that is, unable to read and write their own language; and nearly all are unskilled workers.

Change in character

To protect our country from the menace of ignorance, Congress in 1917 established a literacy test. Each immigrant must show that he can read forty words from the printed page. Texts from the Old Testament, printed in the language selected by him, usually provide the material for this test.

Another serious problem arises from the tendency

of immigrants to concentrate in large cities. Of our total population, about 13 per cent is foreign-born; while in cities of over 25,000 people, 26 per cent of the population is foreign-born. Indeed, in six of the principal cities of the United States, the number of foreign-born males of voting age is greater than the number of native-born. It is much more difficult to assimilate and educate this mass of foreign population when concentrated in our large cities, than would be the case if the immigrants were scattered over a wider area.

Concentration in cities

231. **Railway Transportation.** The period following the Civil War was marked by a rapid development of the railway industry. Many new lines were built, and an era of excessive competition followed, which proved injurious both to the roads and to the communities which they served. Between two points with a single line of railroad, rates were often exorbitant; whereas if competing lines connected two cities, the rates were sometimes below cost — the railways compensating themselves by heavy charges between points where there was no competition. Not only were there discriminations as between localities, but lower rates were often granted to favored shippers, thus making possible the creation of monopolies in certain industries.

Evils in railway management

As a result of these conditions, the shippers and the public demanded that government take steps to regulate the railway traffic. Relief was first sought from the State governments, many of which established railway commissions, with power to fix maximum rates. But State regulations applied only

State control ineffective

to the business wholly within the boundaries of the individual State, whereas two thirds of the revenues of the railroads were derived from interstate traffic, that is, the traffic between different States. Hence it became necessary for the federal government to regulate interstate transportation.

232. Interstate Commerce Act. Accordingly, in 1887, Congress passed the Interstate Commerce Act. This act prohibits discriminating charges in favor of individuals or localities; requires the railroads to publish their rates for carrying passengers and freight; and forbids changes in these published rates except with the approval of the Commission.

To enforce the provisions of this act, the President appoints an Interstate Commerce Commission of nine members. This commission has power to require reports as to the operation of railroads, to hear complaints, summon witnesses, make investigations, and under the Hepburn Act of 1906, to fix maximum rates. The commission may forbid railroads to continue actions which it deems illegal, and may establish maximum rates by which the roads are bound; but its decisions are not final, being subject to review by the courts.

Interstate Commerce Commission

233. Sherman Anti-Trust Act. One of the most important regulations of interstate commerce is the federal Anti-Trust Law of 1890. This act declares illegal all trusts or combinations which aim to secure a monopoly, as well as any agreement in restraint of interstate or foreign trade. Persons who violate the law are subject to punishment by fine or imprisonment or both, at the discretion of the court. A supplement-

ary act passed in 1914, establishes a Federal Trade Commission of five members, appointed by the President. This commission supervises the activities of large corporations, so as to prevent unfair competition. The Clayton Anti-Trust Law (1914) seeks to check monopoly by specifying the particular acts which are in restraint of trade, and therefore illegal.

234. Money. One of the most important aids to commerce is money, or the circulating medium provided by the national government. Money is of two kinds, coins and paper money. Our more valuable coins are made of gold and silver, because these metals possess high value in small quantities. Then, too, they are hard and durable — qualities which are increased by adding another metal as an alloy. The nickel and the cent, or minor coins, are made from the less valuable metals.

Kinds and materials

Money is "legal tender" if the law says it must be accepted in payment of debts. The gold coins and the silver dollar are legal tender to an unlimited amount, the minor coins only for smaller sums.[1]

Legal tender

235. The Process of making Coins. The different coins in use in the United States are coined at the mints operated by the government at Philadelphia, San Francisco, Denver, and New Orleans. The gold and silver is first refined so as to be absolutely pure, and then mixed with alloy to give the proper hardness.[2] This mixture is

Preparing the coin disks

[1] The half-dollar, the quarter, and the dime are legal tender to the amount of ten dollars; the nickel and the cent to twenty-five cents.

[2] The proportion is nine parts of the precious metals to one part of alloy.

molded into bars or ingots, which are rolled until they are strips several feet long, and of the required thickness for the several coins. These strips are fed into cutting machines, which cut out the disks in sizes suitable for the different coins.

The disks are then placed in the milling machine which raises the edges so as to prevent wear upon the surface of the coin. Next they are placed in the coining machines, in which dies from above and below are pressed simultaneously against the disks with tremendous force. In the counting room the more valuable coins are counted by weight, the minor ones by being placed in grooves which hold only a certain number of coins.

Milling, stamping, and counting

236. Paper Money — The Greenbacks. Our paper money is of four kinds: (1) United States notes, called greenbacks; (2) gold and silver certificates; (3) national bank notes; (4) federal reserve notes.

United States notes or greenbacks are issued by the national government, which promises to pay to the bearer the amount named on the face of the note. These were first issued during the Civil War when our government was in great need of money, and were made legal tender in payment of debts. Since these notes have no intrinsic value, they circulated at a discount during the war; at one time (July, 1864) they were worth only thirty-nine cents on the dollar. The close of the war restored our nation's credit, and the greenbacks now circulate as freely as any other form of money. There are about $346,000,000 worth of greenbacks in circula-

Government's promissory notes

tion, which will be redeemed in gold coin by the Secretary of the Treasury.[1]

237. Gold and Silver Certificates. Since silver dollars are less convenient to handle than paper money, the government issues silver certificates in denominations of one, two, five, and ten dollars. These certify that the number of silver dollars named on the face of the note have been deposited in the vaults of the treasury, payable to the bearer on demand. That the silver certificates are popular is shown by the fact that many millions of silver dollars are piled up in sacks at the treasury, for which silver certificates have been issued. Gold certificates are issued on the same plan, in denominations from $10 to $10,000.

Represent metallic money

238. National Bank Notes and Federal Reserve Notes. National Bank notes resemble other forms of paper money in size and appearance, but they are issued by the national banks chartered by the federal government. The notes are printed by the government, and sent to the banks as requested; but the banks must first deposit United States bonds with the Treasury Department, equal in value to the amount of bank notes issued. Hence national bank notes are readily accepted, for even if the bank should fail, its notes would be redeemed by the sale of the bonds.

Federal reserve notes are issued to banks belonging to the federal reserve system, in return for collateral deposited by them.

239. Bureau of Engraving and Printing. All paper money is designed, engraved, and printed at the Bureau of Engraving and Printing at Washington. The

peculiar silk-fibered paper used is made at Dalton, Massachusetts, the process of manufacture being a closely guarded trade secret. This paper is counted into bundles of one thousand sheets of the exact size for printing four notes each, and is then sent to Washington. Here, in the process of manufacture, each note passes through the hands of about thirty different employees; and an elaborate system of checks and countings makes theft almost impossible.

240. The Postal Service. The postal service maintained by the national government is an invaluable aid to the commerce of the country. The letter carrier in his gray-blue uniform is a familiar sight in every city and village of the land; and if you go out into the country, you may meet the rural carrier driving along his route, delivering mail to the farmers so that they need not go several miles to the post-office.

You all know how convenient it is to drop a letter into the mail box, and have it go to any part of the United States for a two cent stamp. Five cents will carry your letter as fast as modern steam cars and steamships can speed anywhere in the civilized world; for all the nations are united in a Universal Postal Union for the delivery of mail. In the United States the rates for carrying the mail are so low that there is often a deficit of from ten to fifteen million dollars in the postal budget, the loss being chiefly on newspapers and periodicals, called second-class matter.

Low rates of postage

Our postal service is to-day the largest business machine in the world. In Washington's time there were seventy-five post-offices and 1800 miles of post-

routes. To-day there are about 53,000 post-offices, and 433,000 miles of post-routes; several billion pieces of mail are handled each year at a cost of $454,000,000. By this tremendous expansion, the postal service has kept pace with the wonderful growth of our country.

241. **Postmasters and Employees.** We have seen that the Postmaster-General has the management and control of the postal service, subject of course to the direction of the President as Chief Executive. Post-offices are divided into four classes, according to the amount of business transacted. Postmasters of the the first three classes are appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate; while the fourth-class postmasters have been placed under the rules of the Civil Service. Most of the employees, including postal clerks, railway mail clerks, and letter carriers, are appointed on the basis of merit, as evidenced by civil service examinations. Numerous inspectors in the employ of the department inspect the work of the employees in order to insure honest and efficient service.

242. **Money Orders and Registry Departments.** You are no doubt familiar with the system whereby money may be sent through the mail by means of money orders. These may be purchased at any post-office for a small fee; and it is very foolish to inclose coin or paper bills in a letter, when government has provided such a cheap and safe method of transmitting money.

Money orders

Valuable letters and packages may be registered upon payment of eight cents in addition to the regu-

lar postage, thus insuring a careful record of the parcel and a receipt for its delivery. You may secure immediate delivery of your letter by paying a special delivery fee of ten cents, in addition to the regular postage.

Registry and special delivery

243. Dead Letter Office. If the name and address on the envelope cannot be deciphered, or if the person to whom it is addressed cannot be found, the letter will be returned to the sender, provided his name and address are placed on the upper left hand corner of the envelope. Otherwise it is sent to the Dead Letter Office, where it is opened and returned to the sender, if his name and address are found within.

244. Recent Developments of the Postal Service. Within recent years the postal service has undertaken three new services of great importance. (1) A system of rural free delivery has been provided, making it possible for the people in the country to share in the benefits of our free delivery system. (2) In 1910 Congress authorized a system of postal savings banks, which pay two per cent interest on deposits. This plan encourages saving by the investor of small means; for he can deposit his money in the government's postal bank, and know that his savings are absolutely secure. (3) Finally, the latest service undertaken by the post-office is the carrying of packages by means of a parcel post, such as is found in nearly all European countries.

QUESTIONS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. What was the amount of our foreign commerce last year? Did the exports exceed the imports?
2. From which five countries do we buy the most goods? Which five are our best customers?
3. Prepare a report on the Panama Canal. Give an account of the acquisition of the Canal Zone and of the work accomplished; state how the canal will benefit commerce.
4. What amount did the federal government appropriate last year for river and harbor improvements? What part of this was for your State? Do inland cities receive any benefit from these improvements?
5. Prepare a report upon the Erie Canal, paying especial attention to its effects on our commerce.
6. Examine the map of the United States, and suggest canals which would aid commerce.
7. Name the great inland centers of commerce in the United States. Explain how the commerce and industry of each has been aided: (*a*) by canals, (*b*) by rivers, (*c*) by railroads.
8. Has the commerce of your city been aided by any of these means of transportation?
9. Why do business men object to frequent changes in tariff rates?
10. Give arguments for and against an educational test for immigrants, such as the ability to read and write their own language.
11. Is there a railway commission in your State? How do its powers compare with those of the Interstate Commerce Commission?
12. Name five great railway systems engaged in interstate commerce. How are they controlled by the federal government?
13. May Congress forbid the transportation across State lines of goods manufactured by child labor?
14. In what ways has the federal government aided the construction of railroads?
15. Should Congress purchase all telegraph lines and make a government monopoly of the telegraph business?
16. In what denominations are the different coins and paper money issued by the government?
17. Bring to class each of the various forms of currency for careful examination.

18. How does the amount of gold in circulation compare with the amount of silver (or silver certificates)?
19. Where is gold produced in large quantities? Where are the largest silver-mines? What was the total production of each metal last year?
20. What is the essential difference between United States notes or "greenbacks," and other forms of paper money?
21. Explain the causes of the fluctuations in value of United States notes during the period 1862–1879.
22. From your examination of a United States note, answer the following: (*a*) In what year did Congress authorize its issue? (*b*) Is it a legal tender? (*c*) Penalty for counterfeiting it? (*d*) What did the words "will pay the bearer five dollars" mean when the note was issued? (*e*) What do these words mean now?
23. Name the national banks in your city. What is the capital of each? Why does the public ordinarily have entire confidence in their management?
24. What forms of credit are largely employed as a substitute for money?
25. Why does foreign exchange vary from time to time?
26. Does our own money change in value? Explain why?
27. What becomes of worn-out paper money?
28. Name some advantages in having a bank account.

CHAPTER XVIII

TERRITORIES AND PUBLIC LANDS

245. The United States in 1789. At the time our national constitution was adopted (1789), the United States was only about one fourth as large as it is to-day. Its boundaries were the Great Lakes and Canada on the north, the Atlantic on the east, the Floridas on the south, and the Mississippi River on the west. Since that time our boundaries have been repeatedly extended, until to-day we possess an immense territory reaching from coast to coast, besides Alaska, the Philippines, Porto Rico, Hawaii, and several smaller islands in the Pacific. In 1789 the area of our country was 892,135 square miles; to-day the United States with all outlying possessions has an area of 3,743,306 square miles.

Comparison with present area

246. Expansion of the National Area. Briefly, the story of this expansion is as follows: —

(1) In 1803 the vast territory known as Louisiana was purchased from France for $15,000,000. This territory included all of the western Mississippi valley and the Isle of Orleans, an imperial area of nearly a million square miles.

Louisiana Purchase

(2) The second annexation was that of Oregon, the territory west of the Rocky Mountains between parallels forty-two and forty-nine degrees north latitude. Title to this region was by discovery and exploration, based partly upon the voyage of

Oregon

Captain Gray in 1792, but chiefly upon the overland expedition of Lewis and Clark in 1805. Our title to Oregon was for a time contested by Great Britain, Spain, and Russia. Great Britain did not relinquish her claim until 1846, when the treaty was signed establishing the present northwestern boundary between the United States and Canada.

Florida

(3) In 1819 Florida was purchased from Spain for $5,000,000, thereby giving the United States a natural boundary on the southeast.

Texas

(4) In 1845 the independent State of Texas was admitted to the Union by a joint resolution of Congress.

First Mexican cession

(5) In 1848, by the treaty which closed the Mexican War, we acquired the immense area south of Oregon and west of Texas, including California and what was then called New Mexico.

Gadsden Purchase

(6) In 1853 the second Mexican annexation, known as the Gadsden Purchase, added a narrow strip in the southern parts of Arizona and New Mexico, at a cost of $10,000,000.

Alaska

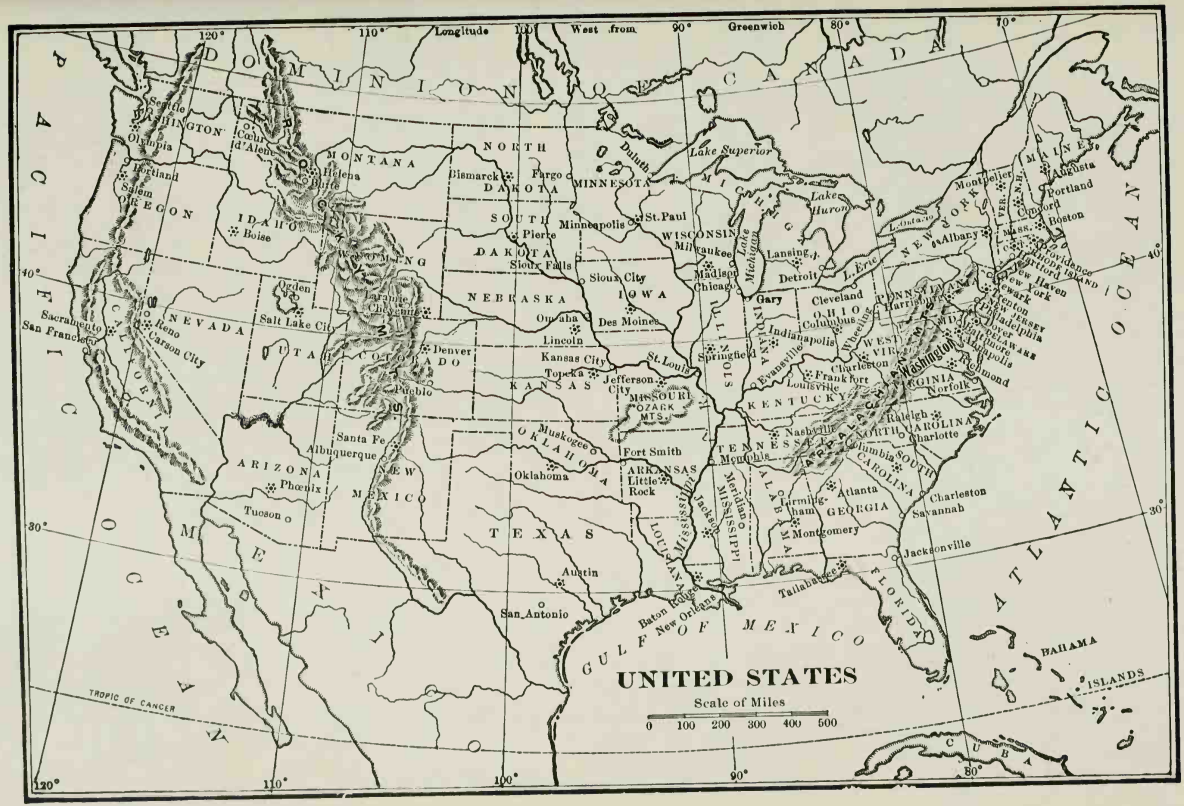
(7) In 1867 the vast territory of Alaska, comprising nearly 620,000 square miles, was purchased from Russia for $7,200,000.

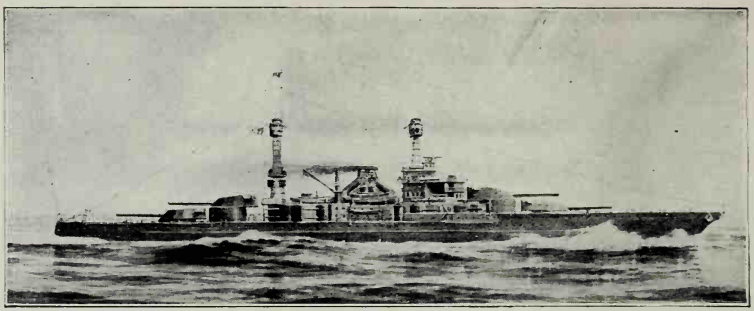
Hawaii

(8) The Hawaiian Islands, over which a protectorship had virtually existed since 1851, were annexed by a joint resolution of Congress in 1898.

Porto Rico, Guam, Philippines

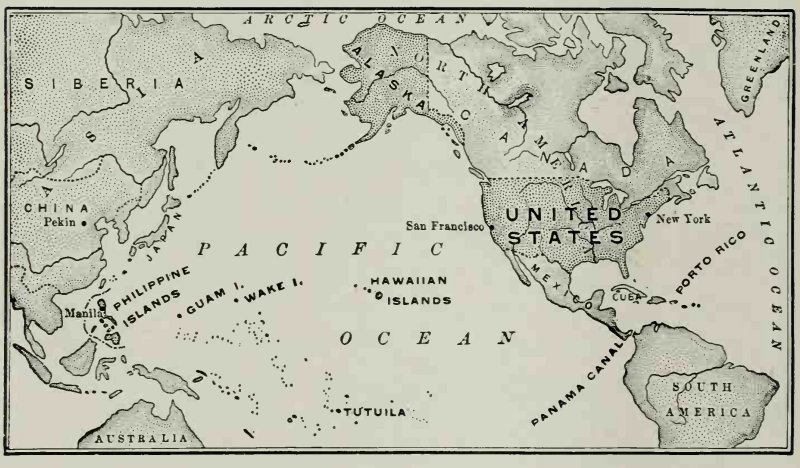
(9) By the treaty which closed the Spanish-American War (December, 1898), Spain ceded to this country Porto Rico, Guam, and the Philippine Islands, receiving in return the sum of $20.000.000.


Longitude West from Greenwich
DOMINION OF CANADA
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEXICO
GULF OF MEXICO
CUBA
BAHAMA ISLANDS
Seattle
WASHINGTON
Olympia
Portland
Salem
OREGON
Spokane
Coeur d'Alene
IDAHO
Boise
MONTANA
Helena
Butte
NORTH DAKOTA
Bismarck
Fargo
SOUTH DAKOTA
Pierre
Sioux Falls
MINNESOTA
Duluth
Minneapolis
St. Paul
Lake Superior
WISCONSIN
Milwaukee
Madison
Chicago
MICHIGAN
Lake Michigan
Lake Huron
Lansing
Detroit
L. Erie
Cleveland
Gary
OHIO
Columbus
Indianapolis
Evansville
ILLINOIS
Springfield
WEST VIRGINIA
Charleston
Frankfort
Louisville
KENTUCKY
Washington
Richmond
Norfolk
Raleigh
NORTH CAROLINA
Charlotte
Nashville
TENNESSEE
Memphis
SOUTH CAROLINA
Columbia
Atlanta
GEORGIA
Charleston
Savannah
Montgomery
ALABAMA
Birmingham
Jacksonville
Tallahassee
FLORIDA
Meridian
MISSISSIPPI
Jackson
LOUISIANA
Baton Rouge
New Orleans
Austin
San Antonio
TEXAS
Fort Smith
ARKANSAS
Little Rock
OKLAHOMA
Oklahoma
Muskogee
Santa Fe
Albuquerque
NEW MEXICO
Phœnix
Tucson
ARIZONA
Sacramento
San Francisco
CALIFORNIA
Reno
Carson City
NEVADA
Salt Lake City
UTAH
Ogden
WYOMING
Cheyenne
Denver
COLORADO
Pueblo
NEBRASKA
Omaha
Lincoln
Des Moines
IOWA
Sioux City
KANSAS
Kansas City
Topeka
Jefferson City
MISSOURI
OZARK MTS.
St. Louis
Montpelier
VERMONT
Burlington
Lake Champlain
Albany
NEW YORK
Buffalo
Lake Ontario
Rochester
Syracuse
Utica
Boston
Concord
Augusta
MAINE
Portland
Providence
RHODE ISLAND
Hartford
New Haven
CONNECTICUT
New York
Trenton
NEW JERSEY
Philadelphia
PENNSYLVANIA
Harrisburg
Pittsburg
Wheeling
Lake Erie
Lake Ontario
TROPIC OF CANCER
120°
110°
100°
90°
80°
70°
40°
30°
UNITED STATES
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500



Courtesy, Navy Department

U. S. BATTLESHIP NORTH CAROLINA



THE UNITED STATES AND ITS POSSESSIONS

Shown by shading, and by names in heavy type.

TERRITORIAL GROWTH OF THE UNITED STATES

Area of the Original Thirteen States 1789	892,135	Alaska 1867	590,884
Louisiana Purchase 1803	827,986	Hawaiian Islands 1898	6,449
Oregon 1805–1846	286,541	Porto Rico 1898	3,435
Florida Purchase 1819	72,101	Guam, Wake and Tutuila Islands 1898–1899	287
Texas Annexation 1845	389,166	Philippine Islands 1898	115,026
Mexican Cessions 1848–1853	558,860	Panama Canal Zone 1904	436
		Virgin Islands, 1917	150

Total Area of United States and its Possessions	3,743,456
Total Area of Europe	*3,754,282*

(10) In addition to these important annexations, the United States has acquired title to a number of small islands, including a few guano islands off the coast of South America and in the Gulf of Mexico; also Midway, Baker, and Wake Islands in the Pacific; and (in 1899) several of the Samoan Islands. Samoan and minor islands

(11) In 1904 the Republic of Panama ceded to the United States perpetual control of a strip of land extending across the Isthmus of Panama, five miles in width on either side of the canal route. Panama Canal Zone

(12) In 1917 the United States purchased the Danish West Indies, now called the Virgin Islands, for $25,000,000. These three islands form an important link in the chain of defense for the Panama Canal. Virgin Islands

247. Territorial Policy of the United States. These are the annexations which have pushed our frontier farther and farther westward, until to-day our great Republic has the Pacific for its western boundary; and instead of the original thirteen, forty-eight stars shine in the clear blue of our flag. With few exceptions, the States which have entered the Union since 1789 were first governed by Congress as territories. Sometimes statehood has been granted almost immediately, so rapidly has the territory developed in population and resources; while again, as in the case of Arizona and New Mexico, Congress has insisted upon a long period of tutelage before admitting the territory to the family of States. Preparation for statehood

When a new territory is organized, Congress at first holds the reins of government firmly in its own hands.

After a few years, important powers of self-government are granted, in order that the people of the territory may have the political training necessary for citizens of a future State. Our policy in this respect dates back to a famous territorial ordinance, older even than our national constitution itself. This is the Ordinance of 1787, concerning which Daniel Webster said that he doubted "whether any single law of any lawgiver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more distinct, marked, and lasting character."

248. **The Ordinance of 1787.** This ordinance was adopted by Congress for the government of the region north and west of the Ohio River, which in the latter part of the eighteenth century was known as the Northwest Territory. Under the Treaty of Paris which closed the Revolutionary War (1783), Great Britain relinquished her title to this region. A number of the States, including New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Virginia, asserted their claims to the territory; but it was finally agreed that it should be formed into a public domain to be held by Congress for the common benefit of all the States.

The Northwest Territory

The Ordinance of 1787 provided that for the first few years the Northwest Territory should have a temporary government, the laws to be made by the governor and three judges appointed by Congress. As the population increased, this temporary government was to be replaced by a representative territorial government, the people choosing the lower house of the legislature. Not more than five nor fewer than three States were to be

Provisions of Ordinance of 1787

formed from this region; and statehood was promised as soon as any district had 60,000 inhabitants.[1]

The ordinance prohibited slavery in any form; guaranteed religious freedom; and declared that "religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

249. Later Territorial Legislation. Since this first great ordinance, Congress has passed many acts for the government of territories. In all, twenty-nine territories have been organized within the boundaries of the United States, all of which have now been admitted as States. In nearly every case, the same general plan has been followed as with the Northwest Territory. There have been two stages of government: (1) a temporary organization over which the people of the territory have little or no control; and (2) a more permanent government in which the people elect the legislature and most of the local officials.

Temporary and permanent government

250. Representative Territorial Government. Prior to their admission to the Union, twenty-nine of our forty-eight States were governed under this second type of territorial government.[2] Under this plan, executive power is vested in a governor, appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate. The powers of this governor are quite

Executive officers

[1] Five States were formed from this region: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. Minnesota also received a portion of the old Northwest Territory.

[2] For example, Arizona and New Mexico, the two States last admitted, were under territorial government for over half a century.

similar to those of the governor of a State, but he is directly responsible to the President, to whom he reports annually on the condition of affairs in the territory. Other officers are the secretary, the treasurer, the auditor, and the superintendent of public instruction.

Legislature

The territorial legislature consists of two houses, an upper house or council, and a house of representatives. Members of both branches are elected by the qualified voters of the territory for a term of two years. The powers of the legislature are substantially the same as those of the legislatures of the several States.

Judiciary

Judicial power is vested in a supreme and several district courts, the judges of which are appointed by the President. The territorial legislature has power to establish such inferior courts as are found necessary.

Territorial delegate

Each territory sends to the House of Representatives a delegate, who has the salary and other privileges of a member, except the right to vote.

Statehood and its consequences

251. Admission to the Union. The territorial form of government is always regarded as preparatory for statehood, admission to the Union depending on the will of Congress (Sec. 123). Once admitted, the new State is on the same footing as every other State, with equal rights and powers. Moreover, once in the Union, a State cannot under any circumstances withdraw or secede; for the Civil War has forever settled the principle that ours is "an indestructible Union of indestructible States."

252. Continental and Insular Territories. The territories now belonging to the United States may be divided into two groups: first, the continental territories; and second, the insular territories or dependencies.

The continental territories include Alaska and the Panama Canal Zone. Since 1912, Alaska has had a representative territorial government, similar to that described in Sec. 250. The Panama Canal zone has a governor appointed by the President.

253. The District of Columbia. Among the powers which the constitution confers upon Congress is the right "to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States." In 1790 the States of Maryland and Virginia ceded to the United States a district ten miles square lying upon the banks of the Potomac; but the part upon the south bank was given back to Virginia in 1846, reducing the district to its present area of about seventy square miles.

Seat of the national government

The government of the district differs radically from that which prevails in other territories, since the residents are completely disfranchised. They have no vote in the election of either local or national officials, nor are they represented in Congress by a delegate. The District is governed by three commissioners appointed by the President, who are responsible for the administration of local affairs.

Governed by commissioners

254. Insular Territories or Dependencies. The insular dependencies of the United States include Hawaii, annexed in 1898; Porto Rico, the Philippines, and Guam, acquired in 1899 as a result of the war with Spain; a few islands of the Samoan group acquired in 1900; three small Pacific islands—Wake, Midway, and Baker Islands, claimed by right of discovery since 1898; and the Virgin Islands, purchased from Denmark in 1917.

Acquisition

Of these dependencies, Hawaii, Porto Rico, and the Philippines possess representative territorial governments, similar to that which has been granted to our continental territories. Such minor dependencies as Guam and the Samoan Islands are under the control of the officers commanding the naval stations; while Midway, Baker, and Wake Islands require no government, being practically uninhabited.

Form of government

255. Hawaii. Hawaii is governed under an act of Congress passed in 1900. This act confers citizenship in the United States upon the citizens of Hawaii. The President appoints the governor; and this officer, with the consent of the territorial Senate, appoints the chief executive officials.

256. Porto Rico. Porto Rico is governed under an organic act passed by Congress in 1917. This law granted representative territorial government to Porto Rico, and made the people of the island citizens of the United States. The President appoints the governor of Porto Rico; and this officer appoints all except two of the heads of the executive departments. The legislature consists of two

Representative territorial government

houses, both elected by the Porto Ricans, all male citizens over twenty-one having the right to vote.

257. The Philippine Islands. The problem of establishing a suitable government for the Philippines has proven a difficult one, because these islands are inhabited by races of almost every stage of development from savagery to civilization. The United States took control of the Philippines with the idea of educating their people so that they would become capable of self-government. Great progress has already been made in this direction, and the Filipinos have been promised independence when they show that they are capable of managing their own affairs. The present government is in accordance with an act passed by Congress in 1916, and consists of a central government over the entire archipelago, with subordinate provincial and municipal governments.

A difficult problem of government

Executive powers are vested in a governor-general appointed by the President, and serving during his pleasure. This officer has the usual powers of a territorial governor; he appoints the heads of the executive departments with the consent of the Philippine Senate, and may veto any act of the territorial legislature. The President also appoints an auditor and deputy-auditor for the Philippines, besides a vice-governor who serves as head of the department of public instruction.

Executive

The legislature consists of two houses, a senate and a house of representatives. Members of both houses are elected by the people, except from a single district inhabited by the more backward tribes.

Legislature

258. The Public Domain. More than two thirds of the present area of the United States has at one time or another formed a part of the public domain belonging to the national government. The greater part has been disposed of in various ways, chiefly by sale at a nominal price to individual settlers, or as bounties for military or naval service, or as grants to promote the construction of railroads, or in aid of education and internal improvements.

How disposed of

About 550,000,000 acres of public lands are still owned by the national government, over one half of which is in Alaska, and most of the remainder in the States west of the 104th meridian. Under the Homestead Act, any adult citizen of the United States who is the head of a family, and is not already the proprietor of 160 acres of land, is entitled to enter a quarter-section (160 acres) of unappropriated public land. He may acquire title by maintaining his residence upon it, improving and cultivating the land for a period of three years, and the payment of nominal fees.

The Homestead Act

Within the last few years, several million acres of arid land have been reclaimed through irrigation projects constructed by the national government. Lands thus made available for agriculture are open to settlers upon payment, in small annual installments, of a sum which will ultimately cover the cost of the irrigation projects.

Irrigation projects

259. National Real Estate. The national government is our largest owner of improved real estate, holding two thousand separate pieces of property.

There are several hundred military posts, such as the Jefferson Barracks, near St. Louis, Fort Snelling, near St. Paul, and Governor's Island, in New York Harbor. There are also many arsenals, armories, and ordnance depots; nine navy yards at various points along the coast; and 1250 lighthouses. The United States owns hundreds of public buildings, including post-offices, custom houses, and federal court buildings.

Government as a landlord

We have seen that the national government has set aside large areas of public lands for forest reserves. The most famous of these reserves are Yellowstone Park, the Upper Yosemite Reservation, the Big Trees of California, and the Arkansas Hot Springs in the Ozark Mountains. All of these reserves are kept up as national parks, and policed by national authority.

Forest reserves

260. Indian Reservations. There are numerous Indian reservations, most of them west of the Mississippi, with a total area of 40,000,000 acres, and a population of 300,000 Indians. Generally, the Indians on these reservations maintain their tribal organization; but a large degree of control is exercised by the federal government through the Indian agents, one of whom exercises supervision over each tribe. Nearly three hundred reservation schools are maintained by the federal government, besides twenty-five Indian schools in other parts of the country, the most famous being Hampton and Carlisle.

QUESTIONS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. On an outline map of the United States mark off with different colors the various territorial annexations.
2. Discuss the method of admitting a State into the Union.
3. Give an account of the Louisiana Purchase. What States were formed out of this territory?
4. What States, besides the original thirteen, have never been national territories?
5. Bound your State. Has it ever been part of, or has it ever included, another State?
6. How did your State receive its name? Its nickname?
7. When was your State admitted to the Union? Describe its territorial government prior to admission. How long was it an organized territory? Give a history of the steps by which admission was secured.
8. Why was the capital of the United States placed under the exclusive control of Congress? Why was the present form of government established for the District of Columbia? What political rights are denied to residents of the District?
9. Describe the city of Washington — street plan, principal public buildings and places of interest, monuments, and surroundings.
10. Name any public buildings, forts, or reservations in your community which belong to the federal government.
11. Why are not the same political rights accorded to our insular possessions as to continental territories?
12. Is it likely that any of our insular possessions will ever be admitted as States?
13. Under the provisions of the constitution, could Texas be divided into four states? Could Indiana and Illinois be united into a single State?

CHAPTER XIX

OUR NATIONAL IDEALS

261. Why we should study History and Civics. We have studied the organization of our government, and the work which it performs. We have seen that it is a representative government, that its welfare depends upon the interest which the citizens take in it. Do you not think, then, that every young citizen should be familiar with the history of our country, which abounds in glorious deeds and great achievements? Should you not also study our country's government and institutions, since you will one day help to carry on that government? Then, too, do you not wish to understand clearly the great ideals for which our nation stands — the ideals which throw so much light upon our national development?

262. Self-Reliance as a National Ideal. Foremost among the ideals which have characterized our national life is the spirit of self-reliance. The very first chapter of our national history records the story of a man who arose from among the toilers of his time, and whom eighteen years of disappointed hopes could not dismay. It tells how this man, holding out the promise of a new dominion, at last overcame the opposition of royal courtiers, and secured the tardy support of reluctant rulers. And when, at Palos, Columbus flung to the breeze the sails of his frail craft, and ventured upon that unknown ocean from which, ac-

cording to the belief of his age, there was no hope of return, he displayed the chief characteristic of the American people — the spirit of self-reliance.

263. **Self-Reliance of the Early Pioneers.** What is this spirit? Emerson has expressed it in a sentence: "We will walk on our own feet; we will work with our own hands; we will speak our own minds." This was the spirit which animated that little group of colonists who preferred the unknown hardships of the new world to the certain tyranny of the old; who chose to break old ties, to brave the sea, to face the loneliness and perils of life in a strange land — a land of difficulties and dangers, but a land of liberty and opportunity.

264. **Our Revolution a Demand for Home Rule.** If we follow these pioneers in our fancy, we see them clearing the unbroken wilderness, and dotting the clearings with homes and churches and schools. We understand, too, how inevitably the sturdy self-reliance of these early pioneers led to the revolt against the mother country. The taxes levied by Great Britain upon her colonies in America were not excessive or burdensome; but underlying the dispute over taxation was the fundamental issue of home rule. Were the colonies to be governed by a Parliament across the sea, whose laws regulating commerce and trade were framed primarily in the interest of the mother country? Or were they to regulate their own affairs and to map out their own destinies? This was the real issue underlying the Stamp Act and the Townshend Acts, the Non-Importation Agreement and the Boston Massacre, the burning of the Gaspee, and the five Intolerable Acts. It was this issue of self-govern-

ment and self-control that finally led the little group of colonies scattered along the Atlantic coast to throw down the gage of battle to the mistress of the seas.

265. How Self-Reliance has influenced Our History. Later chapters of our national history record the same story of sturdy self-reliance. The Barbary pirates levied tribute upon our merchantmen: we became a naval power. France and Great Britain struck at our commerce: we fought a second war for the freedom of the seas. Three powerful European monarchies united to crush the spirit of liberty in South America: our country announced the famous Monroe Doctrine, a declaration of home rule, that the American continents were henceforth to be ruled by the people of America.[1] Mexico declared war upon Texas: she lost California. Spain waged a cruel and useless conflict in Cuba: she was driven from the western hemisphere, and from the Philippines as well. Meantime our population has increased from three to one hundred and five millions: instead of thirteen, forty-eight States are members of our federal Union, and the feeble third-rate power of Jefferson's day has developed into one of the foremost nations of the world.

266. How Each Citizen may promote this Ideal. In order that our country may continue this proud record of self-reliance, each one of us has a special obligation. Every citizen in his individual life should live up to the same ideal of self-reliance. The young

[1] The Holy Alliance, formed in 1815, included the Emperors of Russia and Austria and the King of Prussia, France being soon afterwards admitted. The real object of the Alliance was to support the despotic powers of the several sovereigns, and to repress movements looking toward the establishment of constitutional government.

citizen who relies on himself, who does honest work in school, never cheating or shirking, who is always ready to do a little more than is actually required of him, who thinks for himself, acts rightly because he loves right actions — such a citizen is doing his part in helping to achieve our national ideal of self-reliance.

267. Second American Ideal — The Spirit of Democracy. No doubt many of you have read the Declaration of Independence, the great charter which declared the United States a free and independent nation; and as you may remember, the Declaration asserts that "all men are created equal." This does not mean that all men are equal in property or wealth, or that all have equal abilities; for we have only to look about us to know that this is not the case. The equality asserted in the Declaration of Independence is equality before the law, the democratic equality of rights and privileges as citizens. In our free country, all men, whether rich or poor, have the same political and civil rights. All are equally entitled to the protection of government, to the use and enjoyment of their property, to help elect the officers who make and enforce our laws. These rights are not based on wealth, or talent, or station in life, but on the fact of manhood alone. They belong to men as human beings. This is the spirit of true democracy; and this equality of man is the second of America's national ideals. With us there can be no titled aristocracy with special privileges: ours is the democracy of Robert Burns: —

> "The honest man, tho e'er sae poor,
> Is king o' men, for a' that."

268. Democracy means Equality of Opportunity. Our history is filled with examples of men like Jackson, Lincoln, and Garfield, who availed themselves of this democratic equality of opportunity, and rose from humble origin to the highest office in the Republic. Few of us, indeed, may ever attain high honors as statesmen, and perhaps none of us may acquire great wealth, measured in dollars and cents. But every young citizen has an equal opportunity to do all that his abilities permit: his talents are the only measure of his opportunities. In this country, we do not ask who is backing the young man, or what are his family connections, or what is his religion, or his politics. We ask only, what can the boy do? What has he learned, and how has he prepared himself to fulfill his part as a worker in the great world-hive of industry?

If a man is dishonest and tries to get without toil what is not rightly his, or if he is an idler, a drone in the hive, we call him an unworthy citizen, no matter what his wealth or social position. But if a man is hard-working, pure, and honest, we respect and honor him, whether he is a day laborer or a wealthy manufacturer. For all honest labor is equally honorable; and the test of good citizenship is not what kind of work a man does, but how well he does the work that is given him to do. And the true measure of success in life is not how great a thing we do, but how well we do the thing that is to be done.

269. The Ideal of Free Public Education. The most effective means of securing this equality of opportunity is through our system of public schools; hence free public education is one of the ideals most cherished

by the American people. In earlier times, and throughout the greater part of the world's history, it was only considered necessary to educate the leaders of society, leaving the mass of the people in dense ignorance. Schools were for the wealthy classes, who alone could afford to pay for the privilege of education. But in America we believe that education is not the privilege of the few, but the right of all. In our public schools, the son of the poorest laborer has equal opportunities with the child of the wealthiest capitalist. Here children from every walk of life are associated under one roof, studying the same text books, instructed by the same teachers, living the life of that greatest of democracies, the American public school.

You all know that poverty does not prevent any boy from being at the head of his class; and, indeed, it often happens that children from the humblest homes make the best record in school. No matter how much money a man may have, it will not give his son an education unless the boy has the ability and the desire to apply himself to his studies; and unless he does this, he will be outdistanced by the son of the poor man who realizes that education is the key which unlocks the door to most of the opportunities of life.

270. The Ideal of Common Humanity. Another characteristic of our national life is the ideal of common humanity, the spirit of social coöperation which springs from the desire that all members of society shall lead happy and comfortable lives. You will learn in your later study of history that for countless centuries it was only the few who shared in the happiness and comforts of civilization, while the great dumb

multitude toiled in misery and want and ignorance. But to-day we realize that it is not enough for a small group of men to be educated, comfortable, and happy. Our modern ideal of humanity requires that all men shall share in these benefits. So the one supreme object of our American civilization is to give every man, woman, and child equal opportunity in striving for comfort, happiness, and culture — for all in life worth seeking.

271. Influence of this Ideal upon Our National Life. This ideal of common humanity compelled the abolition of slavery, the institution so inconsistent with the principles of free government. In our own time, the same ideal of humanity is manifest in a thousand ways. It has led to the laws prohibiting child labor in mines and factories; for even the poorest children must share in the benefits of our modern civilization. They are entitled to an education which will develop their abilities and enlarge their opportunities; and they are protected in this right by laws which compel parents to send their children to school.

In many other ways society endeavors to bring the comforts of life within reach of all. The laws regulating the construction of tenements in our large cities, the legislation intended to safeguard the conditions of labor and to improve the position of the worker, the many voluntary efforts of employers to coöperate in every movement for the benefit of the employed, the support given to such institutions as our public schools, libraries, art-galleries, and hospitals, — all bear witness to this ideal of common humanity. To-day we are beginning to realize that every man is his brother's

keeper; that each should share with his fellowmen the good things of life, and coöperate in the great work of uplifting the less fortunate. Those of you who have read that beautiful poem of Lowell in which he describes the search for the Holy Grail, will recall that the quest ended when the knight shared his own cup and crust with the beggar at his gate: —

"In many climes, without avail,
Thou hast spent thy life for the Holy Grail;
Behold it is here, — this cup which thou
Didst fill at the streamlet for Me but now;
This crust is My body broken for thee,
This water His blood that died on the tree;
The Holy Supper is kept, indeed,
In whatso we share with another's need;
Not what we give, but what we share, —
For the gift without the giver is bare;
Who gives himself with his alms feeds three, —
Himself, his hungering neighbor, and Me."

272. The Ideal of International Peace. Another characteristic of our national life is the ideal of international peace. No country has done more than our own toward promoting the movement which aims at the abolition of war, and the establishment of international justice and fraternity. In the Geneva Arbitration Treaty of 1872, the United States and Great Britain gave to the world the splendid example of friendly arbitration of a dispute which most countries would have settled by war. When The Hague Court was established as a means of adjusting international controversies, the United States and Mexico submitted the first case for decision. During the war between Russia and Japan, our President offered the

friendly services of this government toward bringing about the cessation of hostilities; and the result was the Treaty of Portsmouth, which ended the war.

273. The Cost of War. So terribly destructive is modern warfare, so burdensome to the people the expense of armies and navies, that the world is slowly turning toward arbitration as a substitute for the blind and terrible decision of war. You may form some idea of the cost of warfare from our Civil War, which cost the nation 700,000 human lives and more than seven billion dollars in property.

274. Agencies in Promoting International Peace. The establishment of The Hague Tribunal, and the more recent League of Nations, are the expression of a desire to secure peace and friendship among nations. To-day the world is counting the terrible sacrifices resulting from its necessary war to crush militarism. Intelligent public opinion is determined to make war with all its horrors a thing of the past.

The young citizens of our schools should remember that there is a higher and a nobler ideal than to die for one's country; and that is, to live for one's country. A few years ago a vote was taken in the schools of France upon the question, "Who is the greatest hero of France?" The highest vote was given, not to Napoleon, the greatest soldier of history, but to Louis Pasteur, who gave his life to help cure the suffering of the world. If a similar vote were taken in our own schools, may we not hope that first place would be given not to Washington the general, but rather to Washington the President, first in peace rather than first in war?

275. The Ideal of Patriotism. Patriotism, the greatest of our national ideals, comprehends all the rest. Love of country is a sentiment common to all peoples and ages; but no land has ever been dearer to its people than our own America. No nation has a history more inspiring, no country has institutions more deserving of patriotic love. Turning the pages of our nation's history, the young citizen sees Columbus, serene in the faith of his dream; the Mayflower, bearing the lofty soul of the Puritan; Washington, girding on his holy sword; Lincoln, striking the shackles from the helpless slave; the constitution, organizing the farthest west with north and south and east into one great Republic; the tremendous energy of free life trained in free schools, utilizing our immense natural resources, increasing the nation's wealth with the aid of advancing science, multiplying fertile fields and noble workshops, and busy schools and happy homes.

This is the history for which our flag stands; and when the young citizen salutes the flag, he should think of the great ideals which it represents. The flag stands for democracy, for liberty under the law; it stands for heroic courage and self-reliance, for equality of opportunity, for self-sacrifice and the cause of humanity; it stands for free public education, and for peace among all nations. When you salute the flag, you should resolve that your own life will be dedicated to these ideals. You should remember that he is the truest American patriot who understands the meaning of our nation's ideals, and who pledges his own life to their realization.

APPENDIX A

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

Preamble

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution for the United States of America.

Article I. Legislative Department

Section I. Congress in General

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section II. House of Representatives

1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

2. No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of *New Hampshire* shall be entitled

to choose three, *Massachusetts* eight, *Rhode Island and Providence Plantations* one, *Connecticut* five, *New York* six, *New Jersey* four, *Pennsylvania* eight, *Delaware* one, *Maryland* six, *Virginia* ten, *North Carolina* five, *South Carolina* five, and *Georgia* three.

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Section III. Senate

1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President *pro tempore* in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

Section IV. Both Houses

1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Sena-

tors and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Section V. The Houses Separately

1. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

2. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

3. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy, and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

Section VI. Privileges and Disabilities of Members

1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

Section VII. Mode of Passing Laws

1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that house it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Section VIII. Powers granted to Congress

The Congress shall have power:

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

4. To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7. To establish post offices and post roads;

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court:

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and offenses against the law of nations;

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

13. To provide and maintain a navy;

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

17. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings; and

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

Section IX. Powers denied to the United States

1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

4. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7. No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

Section X. Powers denied to the States

1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

Article II. Executive Department

Section I. President and Vice-President

1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

3. [The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by

ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.] [1]

4. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors and the day on which they shall give their votes, which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

5. No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

6. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.

7. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States or any of them.

[1] This clause of the constitution has been superseded by the twelfth amendment.

8. Before he enter on the execution of his office he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the United States."

Section II. Powers of the President

1. The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Section III. Duties of the President

He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

Section IV. Impeachment

The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for and con-

viction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

Article III. Judicial Department

Section I. United States Courts

The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Section II. Jurisdiction of the United States Courts

1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between citizens of different States; between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or subjects.[1]

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Section III. Treason

1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

[1] This clause has been amended. See Amendments, Article XI.

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

Article IV. — The States and the Federal Government

Section I. State Records

Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Section II. Privileges of Citizens, etc.

1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.[1]

Section III. New States and Territories

1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States or of any particular State.

Section IV. Guarantees to the States

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them

[1] This clause has been nullified by Amendment XIII, which abolishes slavery.

against invasion, and on application of the legislature, or of the Executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

Article V. Power of Amendment

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which in either case shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress, provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

Article VI. Public Debt, Supremacy of the Constitution, Oath of Office, Religious Test

1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this constitution as under the Confederation.

2. This constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

Article VII. Ratification of the Constitution

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in convention by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of

the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

George Washington, President, and Deputy from VIRGINIA.
NEW HAMPSHIRE — John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.
MASSACHUSETTS — Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King.
CONNECTICUT — William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman.
NEW YORK — Alexander Hamilton.
NEW JERSEY — William Livingston, David Brearley, William Paterson, Jonathan Dayton.
PENNSYLVANIA — Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris.
DELAWARE — George Read, Gunning Bedford, Jr., John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jacob Broom.
MARYLAND — James McHenry, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Daniel Carroll.
VIRGINIA — John Blair, James Madison, Jr.
NORTH CAROLINA — William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamson.
SOUTH CAROLINA — John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler.
GEORGIA — William Few, Abraham Baldwin.

Attest: William Jackson, *Secretary.*

AMENDMENTS [1]

ARTICLE I

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

[1] The first ten amendments were proposed by Congress, September 25, 1789, and declared in force December 15, 1791.

Article IV

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Article V

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

Article VI

In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

Article VII

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise reëxamined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

Article VIII

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Article IX

The enumeration in the constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Article X

The powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people.

Article XI [1]

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

Article XII [2]

1. The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each; which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

2. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a

[1] Proposed by Congress March 5, 1794, and declared in force January 8, 1798.
[2] Proposed by Congress December 12, 1803, and declared in force September 25, 1804.

majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

3. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

Article XIII [1]

1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Article XIV [2]

1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support

[1] Proposed by Congress February 1, 1865, and declared in force December 18, 1865.

[2] Proposed by Congress June 16, 1866, and declared in force July 28, 1868.

the constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two thirds of each house, remove such disability.

4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Article XV [1]

1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Article XVI [2]

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several states, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

Article XVII [3]

1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

2. When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, that the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

3. This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

[1] Proposed by Congress February 26, 1869, and declared in force March 30, 1870.
[2] Proposed by Congress July 12, 1909, and declared in force February 25, 1913.
[3] Proposed by Congress June 12, 1912. and declared in force April 8, 1913.

Article XVIII [1]

Sect. 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territories subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

Sect. 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Article XIX [2]

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex. Congress shall have power by appropriate legislation to enforce the provisions of this article.

APPENDIX B

AREA AND POPULATION OF TERRITORIES AND INSULAR POSSESSIONS

TERRITORY	Date of Acquisition	Date of Organization	Area Square Miles	Population, 1920
Alaska	1867	1868	590,884	54,899
District of Columbia		1791	70	437,571
Guam	1899		210	13,275
Hawaii	1898	1900	6,449	255,912
Panama Canal Zone	1904		436	22,858
Philippine Islands	1899	1902	115,026	10,350,640
Porto Rico	1899	1900	3,435	1,299,809
Tutuila Group, Samoa	1900		77	8,056
Virgin Islands	1917		150	26,051
Total			716,737	12,469,071

[1] Proposed by Congress December 19, 1917, and declared by the Department of State on January 29, 1919, to be in force on and after January 16, 1920.

[2] Proposed by Congress June 4, 1919, and declared in force August 26, 1920.

APPENDIX C

AREA, POPULATION, AND ELECTORAL VOTES OF THE STATES

STATE	Became Member of Union	Area Square Miles	POPULATION		Electoral Vote (Apportionment of 1911)
			1910	1920	
Alabama	1819	51,998	2,138,093	2,347,295	12
Arizona	1912	113,956	204,354	333,273	3
Arkansas	1836	53,335	1,574,449	1,750,995	9
California	1850	158,297	2,377,549	3,426,536	13
Colorado	1875	103,948	799,024	939,376	6
Connecticut	1788	4,965	1,114,756	1,380,585	7
Delaware	1787	2,370	202,322	223,003	3
Florida	1845	58,666	752,619	966,296	6
Georgia	1788	59,265	2,609,121	2,894,683	14
Idaho	1890	83,888	325,594	431,826	4
Illinois	1818	56,665	5,638,591	6,485,098	29
Indiana	1816	36,354	2,700,876	2,930,544	15
Iowa	1846	56,147	2,224,771	2,403,630	13
Kansas	1861	82,158	1,690,949	1,769,257	10
Kentucky	1791	40,598	2,289,905	2,416,013	13
Louisiana	1812	48,506	1,656,388	1,797,798	10
Maine	1820	33,040	742,371	768,014	6
Maryland	1788	12,327	1,295,346	1,449,610	3
Massachusetts	1788	8,266	3,366,416	3,852,356	18
Michigan	1837	57,980	2,810,173	3,667,222	15
Minnesota	1858	84,682	2,075,708	2,386,371	12
Mississippi	1817	46,865	1,797,114	1,789,384	10
Missouri	1821	69,420	3,293,335	3,403,547	18
Montana	1889	146,997	376,053	547,593	4
Nebraska	1867	77,520	1,192,214	1,295,502	8
Nevada	1864	110,690	81,875	77,407	3
New Hampshire	1788	9,341	430,572	443,083	4
New Jersey	1787	8,224	2,537,167	3,155,374	14
New Mexico	1912	122,634	327,301	360,247	3
New York	1788	49,204	9,113,614	10,384,144	45
North Carolina	1789	52,426	2,206,287	2,556,486	12
North Dakota	1889	70,837	577,056	645,730	5
Ohio	1802	41,040	4,767,121	5,759,368	24
Oklahoma	1907	70,057	1,657,155	2,027,564	10
Oregon	1859	96,699	672,765	783,389	5
Pennsylvania	1787	45,126	7,665,111	8,720,159	38
Rhode Island	1790	1,248	542,610	604,397	5
South Carolina	1788	30,989	1,515,400	1,683,662	9
South Dakota	1889	77,615	583,888	635,839	5
Tennessee	1796	42,022	2,184,789	2,337,459	12
Texas	1845	265,896	3,896,542	4,661,027	20
Utah	1894	84,990	373,351	449,446	4
Vermont	1791	9,564	355,956	352,421	4
Virginia	1788	42,627	2,061,612	2,306,361	12
Washington	1889	69,127	1,141,990	1,356,316	7
West Virginia	1863	24,170	1,221,119	1,463,610	8
Wisconsin	1848	56,066	2,333,860	2,631,839	13
Wyoming	1890	97,914	145,965	194,402	3
Total		3,026,719	91,641,197	105,683,108	531

APPENDIX D

ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL FOR THE STUDY OF GOVERNMENT

Local Governments.

1. A map of the pupil's State, showing the counties.
2. An enlarged map of the pupil's county, showing its subdivisions.
3. Reports of county and town or township officers.
4. Ballots used at county elections.
5. A collection of legal notices from the local papers.
6. Copies of the more common legal blanks (deeds, mortgages, etc.).
7. Town-warrants, tax-bills, and other town documents.
8. The State constitution and revised statutes.
9. The manual of the State legislature.
10. The city charter and ordinances.
11. A copy of the city manual for each pupil.
12. A map of the city showing ward lines and election precincts.
13. The city council calendar.
14. Copies of measures introduced into the council, and of ordinances published in the daily papers.
15. Reports of the several municipal departments and officers.
16. A declaration of taxable property and a tax-bill.
17. Copies of tally-sheets used at elections.
18. Copies of nomination petitions, if used.
19. Copies of the ballots used at municipal, State, and national elections.
20. A copy of the jury list.
21. A set of the forms used in civil and criminal actions.

State Governments.

1. Copies of the constitution and revised statutes of the pupil's own State.
2. A collection of the constitutions of all the States. The most recent and complete is F. N. Thorpe's *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and other Organic Laws* (1909).
3. A good text-book on the government of the pupil's own State, such as the Handbooks of American Government, edited by L. B. Evans.
4. The manual of the State legislature.
5. A volume of the laws made during a legislative session.
6. A volume of the reports of the Supreme Court.
7. A map of the pupil's State, showing the representative and senatorial election districts.
8. Copies of the ballots used at State and national elections.
9. Copies of bills which have been introduced into the legislature.
10. Copies of the calendar and the journal of each house of the legislature.

The National Government.

1. A large political map of the United States, showing territorial acquisitions.
2. A good physiographic map of the United States.
3. Abstract of the Twelfth Census, and the statistical atlas of the Twelfth Census (same for the Thirteenth Census, as soon as published).
4. The Statistical Abstract of the United States.
5. The United States Revised Statutes.
6. Copies of the House Manual and the Senate Manual.
7. Latest copy of the Congressional Directory.
8. The Congressional Record.
9. Reports of the federal departments and bureaus, especially those of the Civil Service Commission, the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Commissioner of Education, the Commissioner of Immigration, the Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance, the Year-Book of the Department of Agriculture, the Consular Reports, and the Labor Bulletins.
10. The Executive Register (Government Printing Office).
11. Thorpe's *The Federal and State Constitutions.* This contains also the early charters and plans of Union.

APPENDIX E

REFERENCE BOOKS

Chapter I. How and why Governments are formed

References for Pupils

Ashley, R. L., *Government and the Citizen* (1911), pp. 1–4.
Dunn, Arthur W., *The Community and the Citizen* (1907), chs. I, II.
Forman, S. E., *Advanced Civics* (1905), chs. II–V.
Reinsch, Paul S., *The Young Citizen's Reader* (1909), ch. I.

References for Teachers

Ashley, R. L., *The American Federal State* (1903), ch. I.
Boynton, F. D., *School Civics* (1904), chs. I–II.
Guitteau, W. B., *Government and Politics in the United States* (1911), secs. 14, 15–26.
Hinsdale, B. A., *The American Government* (1900), Introduction.
Willoughby, W. W., *The Rights and Duties of American Citizenship* (1898), part I.

Wilson, Woodrow, *The State* (1906), ch. I.
Woodburn, James A., *The American Republic and its Government* (1903), chs. I–XXI.

Chapter II. What Government does for the Citizen, and what the Citizen owes to his Government.

References for Pupils

Ashley, R. L., *Government and the Citizen* (1911), pp. 9–12.
Dunn, Arthur W., *The Community and the Citizen* (1911), chs. IX–XV
Forman, S. E., *Advanced Civics* (1905), ch. XIII.
Reinsch, Paul S., *The Young Citizen's Reader* (1909), ch. II.

References for Teachers

Fiske, John, *Civil Government in the United States* (1904), ch. IV.
Guitteau, W. B., *Government and Politics in the United States* (1911) ch. VI.

Chapter III. The Selection of Public Officials

References for Pupils

Ashley, R. L., *Government and the Citizen* (1911), ch. I.
Bryce, James, *The American Commonwealth* (1907), II, chs. LXVI LXIX–LXXIII.
Dunn, A. W., *The Community and the Citizen* (1907), pp. 168–175.
Ford, H. J., *The Rise and Growth of American Politics* (1898), ch. XVI.
Guitteau, W. B., *Government and Politics in the United States* (1911), ch. XXXVII.
Hart, A. B., *Actual Government* (1903), ch. IV.

References for Teachers

Beard, C. A., *American Government and Politics* (1910), chs. VII, XXX.
Fuller, Robert H., *Government by the People* (1908).
Goodnow, F. J., *City Government in the United States* (1904), ch. VI.
Merriam, C. E., *Primary Elections* (1908).
Meyer, E. C., *Nominating Systems; Direct Primaries* vs. *Conventions in the United States* (1902).
Schouler, James, *Constitutional Studies* (1904), pp. 231–249.

Stanwood, Edward, *A History of the Presidency from* 1788 *to* 1896 (1898).
Stanwood, Edward, *A History of the Presidency from* 1897 *to* 1909 (1912).
Woodburn, J. A., *Political Parties and Party Problems in the United States* (1909), chs. x, xii, xx.

Chapter IV. Political Parties and their Work

References for Pupils

Ashley, R. L., *Government and the Citizen* (1911), ch. ii.
Ford, H. J., *The Rise and Growth of American Politics* (1898), chs. vii, xxiii–xxv.
Guitteau, W. B., *Government and Politics in the United States* (1911), ch. xxxvi.
Hart, A. B., *Actual Government* (1903), ch. v.
Wilson, Woodrow, *Constitutional Government in the United States* (1908), ch. viii.

References for Teachers

Beard, C. A., *The American Federal State* (1903), ch. xxiii.
Bryce, James, *The American Commonwealth* (1907), ii, chs. liii–lvi, lix–lxv.
Fuller, Robert H., *Government by the People* (1908), ch. xi.
Johnston, Alexander, *History of American Politics* (1902).
Macy, J., *Party Organization and Machinery* (1904).
Macy, J., *Political Parties in the United States* (1900).
Woodburn, J. A., *Political Parties and Party Problems in the United States* (1909).

Chapter V. The Protection of the Public

References for Pupils

Ashley, R. L., *Government and the Citizen* (1911), chs. iv, v.
Forman, S. E., *Advanced Civics* (1905), ch. li.
Guitteau, W. B., *Government and Politics in the United States* (1911), chs. vi, xii, xiii.
Hart, A. B., *Actual Government* (1903), ch. xxx.

References for Teachers

Beard, C. A., *American Government and Politics* (1910), pp. 568–577.
Bliss, W. D. P., *Encyclopedia of Social Reform* (1908); articles on Temperance, Prohibition, Factory Legislation, and Tenements.

McClain, E., *Constitutional Law* (1905), ch. IX.
Wright, Carroll D., *Outline of Practical Sociology* (1899), chs. XII, XXIII.

Chapter VI. Public Education

References for Pupils

Ashley, R. L., *Government and the Citizen* (1911), ch. VI.
Forman, S. E., *Advanced Civics* (1905), ch. XLVI.
Guitteau, W. B., *Government and Politics in the United States* (1911), ch. XVI.
Wright, Carroll D., *Outline of Practical Sociology* (1899), ch. XI.

References for Teachers

Ashley, R. L., *The American Federal State* (1903), pp. 371–375.
Beard, C. A., *American Government and Politics* (1910), pp. 624–627, 746–751.
Bliss, W. D. P., and others, *Encyclopedia of Social Reform* (1908): article on Education.
Bryce, James, *The American Commonwealth* (1907), II, ch. CV.
Dexter, E. G., *History of Education in the United States* (1906).
Draper, A. S., *American Education* (1909).
Hart, A. B., *Actual Government* (1900), ch. LVI.

Chapter VII. Public Charities

References for Pupils

Ashley, R. L., *Government and the Citizen* (1911), ch. VII.
Forman, S. E., *Advanced Civics* (1905), ch. XLVI.
Guitteau, W. B., *Government and Politics in the United States* (1911), ch. XIV.
Riis, Jacob A., *Children of the Poor* (1892).

References for Teachers

Addams, Jane, *Philanthropy and Social Progress* (1894).
Alden, Percy, *The Unemployed* (1905).
Davenport-Hill, Florence, *Children of the State* (1899).
Devine, Edward T., *The Practice of Charity* (1904).
Devine, Edward T., *Principles of Relief* (1904).
Henderson, C. R., *Modern Methods of Charity* (1904).
Henderson, C. R., *Dependent, Defective, and Delinquent Classes* (1906), pp. 1–209.

Hobson, J. A., *Problems of Poverty* (1899).
Hunter, Robert, *Poverty* (1904).
Warner, Amos G., *American Charities* (1894).
Wright, Carroll D., *Outline of Practical Sociology* (1899), chs. XVIII, XX.

Chapter VIII. Government and Industry

References for Pupils

Ashley, R. L., *Government and the Citizen* (1911), ch. VIII.
Blackmar, F. W., *Economics for High Schools* (1907), ch. XXXI.
Burch, H. R., and Nearing, Scott, *Elements of Economics* (1912), chs. VII, VIII, IX.
Guitteau, W. B., *Government and Politics in the United States* (1911), ch. XV.
Wright, C. D., *Outline of Practical Sociology* (1899), part V.

References for Teachers

Beard, C. A., *American Government and Politics* (1910), pp. 721–742.
Bullock, C. J., *Introduction to the Study of Economics* (1900), chs. XI, XIV, XVI.
Ely, R. T., *Monopolies and Trusts* (1900).
Fiske, A. K., *The Modern Bank* (1909).
Hadley, A. T., *Railroad Transportation* (1903), ch. VI.
Jenks, J. W., *The Trust Problem* (1909).
Johnson, Emory R., *American Railway Transportation* (1909), chs. VI, XV–XVIII, XXV, XXVII.
Johnson, Emory R., *Ocean and Inland Water Transportation* (1909), chs. XXIV–XXIX.

Chapter IX. Town and County Government

References for Pupils

Ashley, R. L., *Government and the Citizen* (1911), ch. IX.
Dunn, Arthur W., *The Community and the Citizen* (1907), ch. XXI.
Fairlie, John A., *Local Government in Counties, Towns, and Villages* (1906), chs. I–III.
Fiske, John A., *Civil Government in the United States* (1904), chs. II–IV.
Forman, S. E., *Advanced Civics* (1905), chs. XXVI–XXVIII.
Guitteau, W. B., *Government and Politics in the United States* (1911), chs. II–III.

References for Teachers

Beard, C. A., *American Government and Politics* (1910), ch. XXIX.
Bryce, James, *The American Commonwealth* (1908), I, chs. XLVIII–XLIX.
Fairlie, John A., *Local Government in Counties, Towns, and Villages* (1906), chs. IV–XVI.
Hart, A. B., *Actual Government* (1903), ch. X.
Wilson, Woodrow, *The State* (1906), secs. 1209–1259.

Chapter X. The Government of Cities

References for Pupils

Ashley, Roscoe L., *Government and the Citizen* (1911), ch. X.
Dole, Charles F., *The Young American* (1899), chs. II, XIII–XIV.
Dunn, Arthur W., *The Community and the Citizen* (1907), ch. XXII.
Fiske, John, *Civil Government in the United States* (1904), pp. 115–140.
Willard, Charles D., *City Government for Young People* (1906), chs. IX–XXIX.

References for Teachers

Bryce, James, *The American Commonwealth* (1908), I, ch. L.
Fairlie, John A., *Municipal Administration* (1901), chs. VIII–XII, XVII–XX.
Goodnow, J. F., *City Government in the United States* (1904), chs. IV–XIII.
Guitteau, W. B., *Government and Politics in the United States* (1911), chs. V–VI.
Hart, A. B., *Actual Government* (1903), ch. XI.
Rowe, L. S., *Problems of City Government* (1908), chs. VI–IX.
Wilcox, Delos F., *The American City* (1904), chs. IV–XXIX.

Chapter XI. The State Governments

References for Pupils

Ashley, R. L., *Government and the Citizen* (1911), chs. XI–XII.
Clark, S. S., *The Government* (1902), chs. 20, 28.
Dole, C. F., *The Young American* (1899), ch. XXI.
Dunn, A. W., *The Community and the Citizen* (1907), ch. XXIII.
Forman, S. E., *Advanced Civics* (1908), chs. XXII–XXIV.
Guitteau, W. B., *Government and Politics in the United States* (1911), chs. VII–XI.

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Burnham Nash

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